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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1838

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**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
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ROMANIAN REPORT ON BULGARIAN EDUCATION CONFERENCE

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 3 Jul-Sep 80 pp 592-593

[Article by Maria Larionescu of the Center for Sociological Research:  
"Sociological Problems of Science and Education Under the Conditions of  
the Technical-Scientific Revolution"]

[Text] Between 15 and 17 May 1980, the Institute of Sociology in Sofia and the "Kiril and Metodiu" University in Veliko Tirnovo organized the first national conference on the sociology and science of education. In addition to faculty personnel and researchers in sociology and specialists in psychology, the conference was attended by specialists in education, history, literary critique, political economics and philosophy. Within the framework of the conference, carried out in a plenary session and three sections, the following sociologists from the other socialist countries were also invited: V. J. Kelle, V. A. Jamin and D.D. Raikova from the USSR; H. G. Maier and I. Haitz from the GDR; Ianos Farcas from Hungary and M. Larionescu from Romania.

In opening the proceedings of the conference, comrade N. Vasiliev, the party first secretary of the area of Veliko Tirnovo, stressed the political-ideological significance of this scientific meeting dedicated to discussing the current problems of science and education in Bulgaria, especially the tasks facing education and research as outlined by the recent congress on education and in comrade Todor Jivkov's speech.

The carrying out of the proceedings of the conference presented, either through the deliberate organization of the schedule or through the orientation of the discussions, several major themes raised by the specific study of the problem of the sociology of science and education. Summarizing the proceedings of the conference, I would present the following themes that dominated these discussions:

a. The Process of Intellectualizing Social Practices in Bulgaria constituted a central theme of the conference, being the object of a number of reports presented both in the plenum and in the working sessions. The most important speech on this problem was made by professor Nico Iahiel, whose report,

entitled "Intellectualization, Education, Science," opened the proceedings in the plenary session. The principal dimensions of the concept of intellectualizing social-economic practices in Bulgarian society, as they were specified by professor Iahiel, deal with: increasing the amount of knowledge in all the fields of social life; science's penetrating social activities; and, increasing contemporary man's capacity to accept new things in social practices along with the intensification of the process of intellectualization.

In remarking that the process of intellectualization is closely correlated with the education process, Niko Iahiel found that education has remained behind the socio-economic needs of Bulgaria, coming out in favor of involving the sociology of science, without reservations, in a concerted, pluridisciplined effort to raise the quality of the instructional-educational process to the level of the requirements imposed by social-economic practice.

Complementary views on the process of intellectualizing social practices were analyzed and argued in other reports and presentations. Among them, we can mention: the integrating function of science in society (V. Samuilov, Bulgaria), aspects of social determination in technical-scientific work (G. Gornev, Bulgaria), current aspects of the process of intellectualization in the fields of agriculture and industry (M. Markov, Bulgaria), social effects of education and science (V. A. Jamin, the USSR), the role of the educational system in forming creative personalities (Kiril Vasiliev, Bulgaria), current problems of the sociology of education (R. Donev, Bulgaria), criticism of bourgeois theories regarding policy in the fields of science and technology under socialism (W. Bon, the GDR), sociological problems in the transformation of science into a direct force in production (T. Trendafilov, Bulgaria), certain factors in the acceleration of technical progress (H. Demozetov, Bulgaria), science and the development of the personality (N. I. Makesin, the USSR), the policy of science as an object of sociological research (J. Nedev, Bulgaria) and so forth.

A series of other reports and discussions supported the thesis of the complementary nature of the roles of sociology in social research and action, stressing the role of the scientific community in constituting the true catalysts of knowledge regarding the mechanisms, processes and paths of social change, especially in the direction of intellectualizing social practices. In differing from the traditional model of the scientific community, current scientific research in the field of sociology and other sciences is directed towards the future, raising problems regarding social evolution, with the sociologists being asked to assume their responsibilities for openings and options having important effects in the strategy of social development. The involvement of the scientific community in the processes of social development, in the process of intellectualizing social practices, the applied vocation of sociological research, the appropriate organization of scientific institutes and the professional and ethical dimensions of the charter of the researcher

in the social sciences are themes that were frequently encountered. The reports revealed the broadening of the themes of research in the sociology of science, the diversification of the methods of approach and their adaptation to the new realities, and the inclusion in investigations of certain new phenomena and processes that are occurring in social life: the process of intellectualization in educational systems as a main factor of intellectualizing Bulgarian society (I. Marev, Bulgaria), the social structure and cognitive abilities of the personality (L. Gheorghiev, Bulgaria), aspects of the system of indicators for evaluating the effectiveness of education (N. Velicov, Bulgaria), education as a social and individual values (P. Boiadjieva, Bulgaria), characteristics of workers' activities in the field of scientific research (P. Simeonov, Bulgaria), the type of knowledge and the structure of scientific potential in the scientific community (H. G. Maier, the GDR), the professionalization of scientific activities, the indicators and criteria of scientific diagnosis (N. Mateev, Bulgaria), "Grand Science" and some changes occurring in the interrelations of the scientific community (K. Petkova, Bulgaria), communication systems as a moral problem in scientific collectives (D. D. Raikova, the USSR), scientists and the organization of science (J. Genova, Bulgaria), and sociological research and the problem of planning science (P. Bliznakov, Bulgaria).

In the section "Science and Society," the Romanian participant's report was presented regarding "Science's Charter Under Socialism," which showed the experience of our country, the contributions regarding science's charter, the function of science and its manner of organization, stressing the following aspects: the original Romanian model of science as an integral part of the strategy of socio-economic development elaborated by the Romanian Communist Party; science - a basic, fundamental factor of social progress; planning science in accordance with the requirements of accelerated social-economic development; the dialectic approach to the socio-economic conditioning of science in close interdependence with its self-development; the ever more accentuated integration of science with production activities and education; the intensification of fundamental and applied theoretical research, multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary research and the accentuation of the prospective nature of investigations.

A somewhat different nature as a means of approach and thematic content was in the reports and presentations centered on the methodological and theoretical aspects of the sociology of science. There were two broad reports here, containing opposite means of dealing with the concept of sociology of science, which brought about contradictory discussions. Professor Ianos Farcas of Hungary directly introduced a conceptual boundary between the sociology of science and science about science: the objective of the sociology of science includes, according to this author, the capacity to produce science, the internal mechanisms of the scientific community, the structure of the charter and role of scientific organizations at a time when the concept of science

about science has in mind the place and role of science in the system of social institutes (political, economic and cultural). In the view of the Hungarian professor, the two disciplines are complementary. A different point of view was expressed in the presentations of professor Kelle (USSR), N. Iahiel and I. Mincov (Bulgaria). In pointing out a certain sterility in the discussions on the objective of the mentioned disciplines, professor Kelle presented different points of view regarding this subject: science about science as a mechanical conglomerate of knowledge and as a complex of sciences which deals with each problem of scientific research from its own point of view, with the sociology of science being just such a particular field.

Through the lively nature of the discussions and the high scientific level of the reports, the first national conference in Bulgaria in the field of the sociology of science and education was a complete success.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SED DIRECTIVE, COMMENTARY ON PARTY MEETINGS, ELECTIONS

#### Dohlus on Uncovering Shortcomings

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 17, 1980 signed to press 25 Aug 80  
pp 645-650

[Article by Horst Dohlus, member, SED Politburo and secretary, SED Central Committee:  
"Party Elections Under the Sign of the 10th SED Congress"]

[Text] With the party elections beginning on 1 October, wholly under the sign of the preparations for the 10th SED Congress, all communists, basic organizations and leading party organs can look forward to busy weeks and months marked by intense political activity by the more than 2 million SED members and candidates.

What mainly matters then was stated at the 12th Central Committee session by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker: making all party organizations and comrades face, politically and ideologically, the demands of the 1980's and creating the best conditions for smoothly carrying on with our economic and social policy. It means strengthening our party organizations in all public domains, acting uniformly, constantly deepening the communists' mass solidarity and thus further enhancing the leadership role of our party.

A solid basis for that are the party document check carried out in the spring, the experiences gathered and activities developed at that time, the valuable reminders and suggestions coming out of personal conversations and the mobilizing campaign programs of the basic organizations. These prerequisites must be utilized prudently everywhere in order significantly to enlarge the contribution from each comrade and each party organization to the continued implementation of the SED Program with a view to the 10th party congress and the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan.

#### Impulses for New Working People Initiatives

We may take for granted that, in implementation of the resolutions from the 11th and 12th Central Committee conferences and of the requirements from the kreis first secretaries conference, concisely formulated in the SED's election directive, a great mass initiative is growing and broadening day after day in socialist competition and the 1981 plan discussion. "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!" That is the slogan under which we mainly aim at our economy's continuing efficiency improvements.

It is important to organize on that basis the mass struggle for the all-round strengthening of the GDR with its level rising and its results becoming better all the time. He acts as a communist who in his work collective, in confident cooperation with the working people, brings a vital influence to bear on the use of all reserves and everyday plan fulfillment. Preparing the 10th party congress with plans fulfilled must be a matter of honor for every party organization. That can be achieved only if, through the influence of the comrades, that concern also is a matter of honor for each work collective.

The scope and importance of the tasks now facing the basic organizations and the kreis and bezirk managements call for high-grade management activity, for always regarding the main questions as the focal point of party work and for answering and settling them in a complex fashion, in their interconnections.

This first of all calls for aggressive and purposeful political-ideological work, for a deep dialog between the party and the people which will strengthen their relationship of trust, their unity.

The answers given by our 11th and 12th Central Committee sessions, the Political Advisory Commission at the Warsaw conference and at the most recent traditional friendship meeting of comrades Leonid Brezhnev and Erich Honecker in the Crimea, about the topical issues of international development, shall continue to occupy a firm place in mass political activity.

#### The Safeguarding of Peace Is the Central Question

It is important for every citizen to understand that safeguarding the peace is the most important matter in view of imperialism's having greatly exacerbated the international situation. It is the central issue of our time. The meetings and discussions SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR State Council Chairman Comrade Erich Honecker held with leading representatives of European and other countries are an important part of the efforts by the Soviet Union and the other socialist states to continue working for the safeguarding of peace, arms limitation and disarmament despite the aggressive stance of U.S. and NATO imperialism.

It is up to the willingness of each to contribute through his personal conduct, mainly through high production achievements, to the all-round strengthening of the GDR, whereby to provide an appropriate response to the aggressive policy of threat and force of certain imperialist circles, especially the United States, and thwart their concept of confrontation.

In short: everything we do must, in accordance with our party's basic foreign policy principle, be aimed at insuring the most beneficial external conditions for the continued successful implementation of the SED Program.

Second, the basic organizations and executive party organs ought to concentrate on seeing to it that the 10th party congress preparations will continue to stand, mainly, under the sign of the mass struggle for economically strengthening the GDR. The most important precondition for it is that the communists move ahead through a most personal dedication and involve all GDR citizens in our competition under the slogan "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!"

It is decisive significantly to boost our economic efficiency capacity, to exceed our planned industrial output in 1980 by two additional daily production volumes gained mainly from material saved, and to insure the fulfillment of all other plan positions day after day.

Fulfilling obligations made in honor of the 10th party congress must be a matter of honor for each collective. Constant controls should be exercised about it, and no curtailment of it must be permitted. It is a matter of a frank, critical, public accounting for everyday struggle and plan fulfillment, the development of scientific-technical progress, the struggle for high export achievements and all other tasks that become the premise for securing what has thus far been achieved under party leadership and gradually improving the people's material and cultural standard of living despite the changed external conditions.

#### Further Raising the SED's Leadership Role

Third, the party elections are to be aimed at further raising the party's leadership role and bolstering its fighting strength. That presupposes still more conscious activity on the part of each party member.

The task of achieving the pace of the 1980's in all public domains principally is a demand for more efficient management of social processes by the party. That requires that all party managements strictly abide by our politics and economics. The main prerequisites for that are deeply penetrating the Central Committee resolutions, collectivity of management and a more complex management style. This involves the capacity to raise and settle all questions from the standpoint of party work, the work with people and their political education.

It requires always closely connecting long-range tasks with topical issues of the day. Every management collective should always be aware of the effects any decision made may have, so that it will advance development in its own area.

It requires always gaging the quality of management activity against social progress, the development of people, the plan fulfillment, the implementation of the ninth party congress and Central Committee resolutions altogether. Which means: words and deeds must conform in party work and management activity, and there must be firm consistency between decision-making, implementation of decisions, their control and the critical assessment of what was accomplished.

It requires that management activity conform to the Leninist principle that socialism is born and grows only as an effort of the mass of millions. Therefore, it should in every respect aim at a still closer connection between the party and the working people, at constantly deepening the relationship of trust between party, workers class and people. That calls for effective activity by our comrades in the mass organizations, state organs and National Front commissions, so that our well tested Marxist-Leninist alliance policy will continue to be brought to realization.

And it requires, in conformity with the higher demands of the 1980's, that management activity still more strongly affect the substance and scope of volunteer work, the development of the party activists' groups.

We endorse the opinions of party secretaries and comrades from bezirk and kreis managements to the effect that resolutions passed at reporting election meetings and delegates conferences are useful for continued effective work, provided they are brief, include the whole period up to the 10th congress, and do not repeat what has already been resolved.

#### **Fine Accomplishments Boost Our Optimism**

It is characteristic of the nature of our Marxist-Leninist party that party elections always are combined with thoroughly accounting for what has been accomplished, a balancing of accounts before the party collective and the elected managements as well as each individual communist and party group. The 1980/81 party elections must everywhere be treated as an occasion for thoroughly settling accounts about the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and the basic organizations' campaign programs immediately prior to the 10th party congress.

There are sufficient concrete facts for presenting our accomplishments in implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. They range from the efforts on behalf of the safeguarding of peace and the stronger material-technical base of our socialist state all the way to the importantly improved standard of living, the working people's working and living conditions. That is reflected in every work collective and every family.

Thus we will have optimistic status reports informing the course of the party elections. They will convey pride in what we have jointly accomplished and a new sense of strength. And yet they will not ignore the problems that still exist and that make clear to us all the more in the basic organizations how great the tasks are that have to be solved while we are moving toward the 10th party congress and in implementation of the resolutions we must expect of it.

#### **The Value of Balancing Our Accounts**

It is sure, and all party organizations ought to proceed from this, that the educational and progressive value of settling accounts will be all the greater the more the preparation of a successful balance-sheet strengthens the communists and all working people in their conviction that we have solid foundations for the further implementation of our party's people-oriented policy, the more clearly the methods and experiences that have led to fine results in the struggle for plan fulfillment and in other areas become visible for everyone and can be generalized, and no cloak of secrecy is spread over the still extant differences in the working levels of various party and work collectives but, as a condition for changes, problems are thoroughly analyzed and critically and frankly referred to for what they are.

#### **The Best of Today To Become the Standard for All**

Not only during party elections but always, one of the decisive aspects of management activity in the bezirk and kreis managements, and of party work in the basic organizations, is to concentrate still more strongly on the experience of the best workers and to turn them, constantly and by various means, into the common property of all.



The seminar the Central Committee sponsored for the combine directors and party organizers, the Seventh Construction Conference and the Fifth University Conference conveyed important and basic criteria and experiences for our work that retain their central importance for the activity of all basic organizations and party organs and ought to inform the party elections so we can tap additional important performance reserves.

In connection with that, the experiences from personal conversations during the party document check and the best methods for congress initiatives are to be thoroughly analyzed and, especially, the conditions are to be made visible under which the finest advances can be achieved in party and mass activities. What will continue to be true for the future is that it does not pay just to talk about good experiences.

To disseminate the best experiences, management must mainly be thoroughly familiar with them and must know how the higher achievements were accomplished, what the means for them were, and what ideological work was required for them. And what becomes important then is to organize experience exchange--expediently, concretely and supportively. That approach will meet the demand from Comrade Erich Honecker to turn the best of today into the public standards for all in preparation of the 10th party congress.

#### **The Communists' Great Responsibility**

Each basic organization should consider it its task that the fine development of intra-party democracy instills still greater responsibility in each comrade with regard to his duties and each of them struggles still more consciously and with high party discipline for the implementation of the resolutions.

Above all the membership meetings should provide a still more crucial leverage for the shaping of intra-party life. There are sufficient experiences available to that end. That pertains to making the speeches held in the membership meetings vivid and interesting so that they address the real situation and the problems and concerns of the comrades and call a spade a spade. It also means a party-minded, frank atmosphere in the discussion and a concrete manner of decision-making which will enable all communists to implement the party resolutions consciously and successfully.

What matters in particular during the party elections is to enable every communist to meet the growing demands of the 1980's. Criteria for that mainly are that a comrade stands up daily as an initiator and model in socialist competition and constantly sends out creative impulses to all colleagues; that every comrade struggles actively as an innovator for highest efficiency to make science and technology still more productive; and that it must rate as an accepted fact for communists not to close their eyes to unjustified consumption of material, time and money but unrelentingly fight against any such manifestations.

And mainly also, among these criteria is the comrades' duty, set down in the Party Statute, to respond aggressively yet patiently to any questions that concern the working people while making each of them feel they can always turn to them confidently and frankly with any of their problems.



Such an attitude conforms with Lenin's advice for firmly connecting the communists with the masses, when he emphasized: living in the midst of it, being familiar with moods, knowing everything, understanding the people, knowing how to approach them and how to gain their absolute confidence.

#### Stability and Continuity in Personnel Policy

This year's party elections also gain their special importance by our electing managements that are expected to be able to do full justice to the requirements for directly preparing the 10th party congress and to the implementation of its resolutions.

The work with functionaries during the party elections will play an important role in two respects. For one thing, what will come under advisement is that the sort of comrades, both male and female, are chosen for the new managements who on account of their exemplary public activities and their work performance, and of their selfless dedication to the implementation of the people-related party policy, enjoy great respect and constantly work for an unshakable relationship of trust between the party and the masses.

Second, the development of functionaries is part of our positive balance-sheet and remains a key problem for coping with the tasks of the party and of all society in the 1980's. It will be possible to demonstrate everywhere that the successful development of the SED and the GDR also is an unequalled proof for the correct application of the Marxist-Leninist personnel policy.

The growth and maturation process of our party as well as the fine political and technical training of the communists and the correct ratio between battle-tested senior party members and young comrades in our ranks place us in the position where we can always select those functionaries for managements and functions who will be able to meet the higher demands of the future also.

With all this great political activity in preparation of the 10th party congress, the improving level of intra-party life, and the admission of 50,000 new comrades within the framework of the FDJ initiative for the 10th party congress, the broad reservoir is becoming stronger and wider from which the SED selects its functionaries and systematically forms and develops them. It is important for all basic organizations to include in the further selection and development of functionaries also those comrades who, in the struggle for high achievements in honor of the 10th party congress, distinguish themselves by special initiatives and lead the way among the working people.

We stay with the well-tested principle always to watch that the functionaries are ideologically strengthened, watch their education in the practice of party struggle, their deep solidarity with the workers class, their political and technical capability, the securing of stability in the chosen managements and the continuity in their composition.

Each party collective will always also think of the future and see to it that a healthy ratio is preserved in the managements between older, battle-tested and experienced party functionaries and young, more impetuous comrades, coming mainly

out of the FDJ. And an expression of management continuity based on purposeful personnel work also is to make sure that the proportion of women in management functions rises steadily.

### **A Step That Strengthens Our Party**

Through the party elections under the sign of the 10th party congress preparations essential prerequisites are created in all public domains for new advances. They will be all the greater, the more responsibly the party organization managements and all communist take the lead among the working people in our country in the implementation of the Central Committee resolutions. The 1980/81 party elections are an important step for further strengthening our Marxist-Leninist party.

### **Guarding Against Ideological Diversion**

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 20, 1980 signed to press 16 Oct 80 pp 773-778

[Article by Werner Scholz, editor-in-chief of NEUER WEG, organ of the SED Central Committee: "Comrades Set Standards for Themselves for the 1980's"]

[Text] Our party and that means each individual comrade are in the midst of the 1980/81 party elections. The reporting election meetings are an occasion for accounting for the implementation of the resolutions and for deciding on the tasks in the time up to the 10th party congress.

The course of the elections thus far once again confirms the unshakable trust all communists have in our party policy, aimed as it is at the good of the people, and it confirms their firm ties with the Central Committee and its general secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. The basic organizations, and the members and candidates in the election events, are setting new high goals for themselves.

Meetings and decisions focus on the basic party election concern formulated in the Central Committee election directive of "politically-ideologically orienting the party organizations and all comrades to the requirements of the 1980's, creating the best conditions for successfully continuing the people-related party policy, and organizing the 10th SED Congress preparation, at a time of great initiative and mass struggle, for economic performance improvement, to secure the standard of living achieved and continue also in the future raising the people's standard of living step by step."

### **Shaping Further Our Party's Leadership Role**

For our further party work that means: the fighting strength of the party organizations must be bolstered in all public domains, the communists' uniform, cohesive actions must be furthered, their mass solidarity be deepened and thus, our party's leadership role be shaped further. The democratic character and future-bearing content of the elections turns them into more than a high point in party activity. Their strength of radiation leads to new initiatives in socialist competition and solidifies the close relationship of confidence between the working people and the party. Based on our accomplishments and oriented to high criteria, now, during the

party elections, accurate determinations are made about the contribution from each comrade and each party organization to the further implementation of SED policy. Such an approach conforms with the SED Program and Statute which predetermine the essential content of the political activity of the party organizations and of each communist over the long run, i.e., in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in creating the prerequisites for the transition to communism.

The magnitude of our tasks and the conditions of our struggle bring it about that the demands made on the communists in the construction of socialism/communism grow constantly as the party's leadership role is inevitably also growing.

#### High Expectations Placed on Every Party Member

The farther the socialist revolution advances in the GDR and the more mature the developed socialist society becomes, the more precise and sharply accentuated becomes the image of communist personality, and the greater are the expectations for anyone belonging to the vanguard of the class. Each party member senses continuously how much of a commitment it is to be a communist.

To the extent that our society develops and matures, the demands are growing that are made on class consciousness, voluntary discipline, revolutionary fighting spirit, creative activity, power of political conviction, solidary attitudes and selfless conduct of the communist. That is a concrete and everyday object of party education in the basic organizations. And how that is practically done is evidenced in the election meetings in the party groups and basic organizations.

In the training and education of their members and candidates, the party organizations are more and more concerned about all-round educated, actively engaged political communist personalities, revolutionary fighters. More strongly gaging the substance of party education also for personality development and the socialist way of life against the aims assigned in the Program and the Statute is a topical and permanent demand made on the work of all party organizations. The course of the party elections corroborates that the party is becoming increasingly more skillful in shaping that kind of comrade. It is proven above all by the initiators in the competition in honor of the 10th party congress, the communists who are leading the mass struggle for economic efficiency improvements. Yet, as many exemplary comrades have underscored, it is no longer enough today "merely" to set a shining example in production. They know from their own experience that innovations do not prevail spontaneously, however convincing the advantage from an initiative or a competition method, such as the "notes on the plan" or the Schwedt Initiative, "Fewer Produce More," may appear to be.

A communist is an initiator to the extent that he not only develops a new idea creatively and materializes it through what he then does. Included in his being an innovator also is that he will politically motivate what he does convincingly. An innovation will not prevail unless he and his comrades propagate it adequately and organize its massive application.

## The Role of the Communist Today

What makes the role of the communist visible today in the reporting election meetings? Four characteristic aspects of his activity come to the fore which are closely interconnected:

First of all, a communist is a staunch advocate of our world-outlook in everyday political conversations. Such conversations go on everywhere regardless of whether or not a comrade gets them started or even is around. Our times are agitated enough to raise questions every day and to demand answers. The class conflicts in the international arena, social development in our republic and industrial events set the theme for our debates in the work collective day after day.

### Advancing the Better Arguments

And the enemy's ideological diversion enters into these debates too. It would, after all, not be the imperialism of the FRG we know, were it ever to cease its daily subtle, vicious and mendacious attacks against socialism. For the comrade, the question to be answered is this: How can the substance and take-off of everyday political conversations within the work collective be determined by their class-bound position such that the conviction of the superiority of socialism and of the correctness of party and government policy be reinforced?

To advance the better arguments, aggressively to set the topic and to lead the colleagues from their correct understanding to acts that strengthen socialism, therein lies our comrades' mission as advocates of our ideology and policy. How to fulfill this mission is what the reporting election meetings are discussing in detail. The comrades are discussing how they can, with an eye to the demands of the 1980's, make better use of the membership meetings, party group conferences, the party study year and the party's educational facilities for talking about what the most convincing argument is. They talk about the ways and means of arguing successfully. Party education is effectively being aimed at helping each comrade in explaining party policy in his work collective in a party-minded fashion, aggressively, relevantly and, thus, understandably.

There is a great range of diversification here. To get beyond that is the substance of resolutions in the reporting election meetings. What is needed, for example, is to give more of an explanation of party policy in its entirety, or the dialectics between domestic and foreign policy, i.e., of the inevitable interconnections. On that, the direction of the agitators in the party collectives is to become more flexible, always determined by exigencies following from topical events or the plan situation in the enterprise. The party school year propagandists are to be helped more in deriving from the basic themes arguments for everyday political conversations in the circles. There also are growing demands at this time for deepening the comrades' needs for thorough self-study.

### Resolutely Advocating the Class Position

The basic organizations understand that the slogan, "Wherever There Is a Comrade, There Also Is the Party, and the Most Convincing Arguments Are There Too," is a political mission for the communists to fulfill their work in the work collective and a mission on behalf of the goals and substance of party education.



That slogan calls for a communist who, steeled ideologically, always and irrevocably advocates the party's class position and lets himself not get irritated by enemy propaganda lies and slander, being convinced of the correctness and triumph of our cause, one who surrenders not even one ideological position of the party but constantly conquers new ones.

The mission for the members and candidates has already always been to stand by party policy by word and deed. For that reason a communist, second, is a man with exemplary achievements in his work, an excellent expert in his field, a best worker. Here we see that the following objection might be raised: comrades who are doing highly recognized work are many, but best workers--are there not still too few of them? True enough, these are not all of them, but what some already are presents a task for the others. So that the experiences of the best workers of today become the social standard for all, the election meetings are considering how the communist are proceeding in this respect.

### Political Stance and Motives

At times, when election meetings are discussing the best workers, it is but one aspect of their activities that much is made of: they gave birth to a new initiative, their idea has taken off, many seek to emulate them and themselves turn into best workers. The economic benefit is being computed. That does not do full justice to the magnitude of the performance, to the model role of such comrades. For is it not so that a high political awareness stands behind such deeds, and socialist morality and the unshakable will to make a contribution to the class conflict with imperialism? For that reason many basic organizations are deliberating on how the best workers can be given a strong political and moral support from the entire party collective and the public.

Many election meetings pay tribute to the outstanding performance by members and candidates in plan fulfillment and in making scientific-technical progress prevail. Much is made of the political motivation of these communists who are living up to the demanding tasks of the Party Statute. That fosters labor ethics and the awareness of the people concerned. And such an approach also contributes to political and technical education, to strengthening character, to creating a healthy climate in the collective of all comrades.

### Confidence Must Be Won Daily Anew

Third, a communist is the people's steward. Only that confidence is not handed over with the party card, nor is it tied to any particular function. Confidence must be won daily anew. How then does a comrade acquire the confidence of his colleagues?

The election meetings make much of exemplary work and of the strength of conviction in the arguments, the unity of words and deeds in the comrades' daily life. Added to that is consistently advocating the workers' interests--as far as the whole is concerned as well as in the individual case in the brigade. From that the task is derived to see to a healthy and confident climate in the work collective.



Many comrades describe in the discussions that this, not last, depends on how well the production process is organized, on uninterrupted and effective production, so that the worker feels well.

How well things are going every day for the worker on his job is a political question in the view of the party organizations because, after all, it is tied up not only with the production organization capabilities any management functionaries have in a given enterprise. Also it always is the prestige of the planned economy, the respect our party enjoys, and its ability to provide political leadership for economic processes that are the focal point of the public, the testing stand, as it were.

Strengthening the confident relations between communists and unaffiliated also means paying full attention to the advice, suggestions and criticism from the working people. Experiences of many party managements demonstrate that petitions are evidence of trust. And the manner in which we deal with petitions goes a long way in determining whether trust is strengthened or diminished.

And that applies not only to our dealing with the unaffiliated. Equally important is that advice, suggestions and criticism from the comrades are carefully registered, conscientiously processed and as rapidly implemented as possible. In the election meetings, for instance, extensive account is given on how suggestions made in talks during the document checks are used for improving the work of the basic organizations. Thereby each and every member feels: the word from the comrade, from the worker, means something, it is wanted and respected, it is of weight. In sensitively dealing with the citizens', the working colleagues', concerns, in the stubborn and rigorous representation of the workers' interests, a comrade realizes another aspect of his function in the work collective.

#### Properly Guiding the Unaffiliated

Then there is, finally, the communist as a leader. The basic organizations view the leader, for one thing, as a member of a party management, a party functionary, in the mass organizations, the state apparatus and the economy. But on the other hand, a communist is a leader in the sense that he, whether or not he exercises an election function, commands a leadership function as a member of the vanguard of the workers class. After all, everywhere, and especially within the work collective, he is surrounded by unaffiliated workers whom he has to guide, attract to the implementation of the party resolutions, whom he has to mobilize.

In this regard too, the demands made on the communists are growing in the 1980's. Because solving the social, and particularly the great economic policy, tasks is a challenge the communists will meet.

#### Fulfilling the Resolutions Without Reservation

For that reason many party missions resolved in the election meetings aim at promoting far-sightedness and the courage for taking risks, at developing the ability to lead the work collectives in their struggle for top performances, at inspiring them and welding them together. There then grows the unlimited intention of many communists not to admit any curtailment of the plan or of the party resolutions, and to organize their unconditional struggle for each tenth of percent of production increase.

This is what is shown in the reporting election meetings of the party: to be a communist in the work collective under the demands of the 1980's demands of a comrade to be a good advocate of our world-outlook and policy, to be a best worker and, as a steward of the people, bring an active influence to bear on social development and guide the awareness and efforts of his work colleagues toward the fulfillment of the party goals.

#### Resolution on Party Progress

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 22, 1980 signed to press 13 Nov 80  
pp 867-869

[Resolution of the SED Central Committee Secretariat of 29 October 1980: "Statement of the SED Central Committee Secretariat on the Report of the SED Weissenfels Kreis Management on 'Experiences in Carrying Out the Party Elections in the Basic Party Organizations'"]

[Text] Results and experiences in the party elections thus far impressively document the greater maturity, fighting strength and mass solidarity of the SED Weissenfels Kreis organization in the creative implementation of the Ninth SED Congress resolutions. The reporting election meetings are characterized by a combative, optimistic and constructive atmosphere and by frank debate in the collective discussion of the basic organizations' further tasks in the preparation of the 10th SED Congress.

The basic statements by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker before the party activists in Gera have met with wide agreement from the communists and citizens in the kreis and sparked new activities in all public domains on behalf of the all-round strengthening of the GDR, of socialism and of peace. Kreis Management has organized to that end a thorough study and discussion on the broadest basis and drawn its own conclusions from it for party and mass activity.

In various ways the party members and the working people express their agreement with the SED policy for peace, detente and disarmament and express their gratitude for the course of the main task, which is directed at full employment and public well-being, growth and stability. With the party elections the party collectives underscore their readiness to continue in actively supporting this target-directed Marxist-Leninist course through disciplined, honest and productive work on every job and by defending it against any enemy attacks.

Impressively the 3.3 days of a plan lead in industry and the thus far highest yields in crop production, achieved in Weissenfels Kreis through its socialist competition in honor of the 10th party congress, reflect the mass-mobilizing effect of the slogan: "The Best for the 10th Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!"

For the further implementation of the party elections in the basic organizations and for preparing the kreis delegates conference, the Central Committee Secretariat of Weissenfels Kreis Management recommends that we concentrate mainly on the following tasks:

(1) By analyzing the speech in Gera by SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, full understanding for the strategy and tactics of our policy is to be obtained from all communists and working people so as to equip them for the qualitatively new requirements resulting for our carrying on the socialist revolution for strengthening the workers and farmers power in the GDR and from the new conditions in the international class struggle.

Therefore the leadership work of kreis management mainly must work out the specific contribution of Weissenfels Kreis to worthily preparing the 10th SED Congress and attaining the pace of the 1980's and creating the managerial prerequisites for it.

A realistic assessment of the situation, a scientific and mass-related working style and a responsible assumption of collective and personal responsibility in the complex implementation of the party resolutions are important requirements for a higher level of party work.

Through preparing the kreis delegates conference, firm campaign positions are to be created that insure an all-round fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan tasks and competition objectives for 1980, a good start for the 1981 plan year and the requisite high improvement in economic efficiency.

(2) It must be insured for all party collectives to make concrete and accountable determinations on how to organize frank and effective political-ideological work which will further deepen the party's dialog with the people on topical domestic and foreign policy issues and draw every communist into everyday political talks at the places where he works and lives.

This demands further deepening the citizens' knowledge of the inevitabilities and interconnections in the development of the GDR and in the world and, time and time again, providing them with a confidence in victory, optimism and a feeling of strength for the all-round strengthening of their socialist home by using examples of a sound balance of our economic and social policy in their own concrete areas of life. The main thing that matters is to champion our party policy from a firm position and smashing any enemy agitation by our own aggressive agitprop.

Enabled and employed in a target-directed manner for that must be the party, state, and economic functionaries, the deputies and the functionaries in the mass organizations and on the GDR National Front commissions.

Proceeding from an extensive familiarity with moods and opinions, Weissenfels Kreis Management ought to analyze more thoroughly the diversities in the citizens' state of awareness and more rapidly cope with the specific demands resulting from that for our political mass activities.

Kreis Management also should consider it an important task to enable the socialist intelligentsia in comprehending the new criteria and making them the basis for their creative work. School party organizations should receive special support so that the pedagogs always have what it takes in their school policy and educational work with the parents and the pupils.

The important cultural resources in the kreis should still more strongly be used for developing an active intellectual-cultural life in preparation of the 10th party congress.

Those party organizations that are engaged in public areas like the local state organs and the supply economy, whose activities directly affect the development of working and living conditions and the consolidation of socialist democracy, must be given special help in doing justice to the work with the citizens and conscientiously and rapidly reacting to their suggestions, recommendations and criticism.

An important task in further consolidating the party's relations with the masses is to familiarize the enterprise and work collectives well with the resolutions and objectives of the reporting election meetings and involve them in their implementation.

(3) Proceeding from the criteria of the Zeiss workers in Jena and their concrete application in the kreis, as demonstrated by the initiative of the collectives in the VEB Banner of Freedom Shoe Factory, efforts in all enterprises are to be aimed at exceeding the 1981 plan tasks in industrial and sales commodity production by one percent, by which to accomplish an additional one-day output by mainly using saved materials up to the 10th SED Congress.

The experiences and results of the basic organization of the Burgwerben crop production LPG in struggling for highest yields are to be generalized in preparation of the kreis delegates conference. The drop in yields that exists in the kreis must be further reduced, whereby a crucial performance reserve will be tapped.

Greater efforts are to be made in the enterprises of the shoe combine and of the furniture and metal-working industry in the kreis to advance more rapidly in the scientific-technical field, increase labor productivity beyond the normal measure, improve the quality and efficiency of production and, through territorial rationalization, tap additional reserves of their own for the production of consumer goods and finished products for the populace and for export.

(4) In the outcome of the reporting election meetings and the delegates conferences, the level of intra-party life and party influence ought to be thoroughly assessed, and the kreis delegates conference should draw the necessary inferences from it for further strengthening their fighting strength. Great attention should there be given to conscientious and effective aid for the party groups, high-level instruction and training for the newly elected party managements and further improvements in the level of the membership meetings.

Individual party management work with the members and candidates must become regular procedure of the work in all party organizations.

Personal conversations--as the experiences in the document check have taught us--are a proven method for conferring with the comrades about the growing requirements and how to cope with them, for using their experiences and further enhancing their activities.



In carrying on the FDJ party congress initiative, we must more resolutely see to it that party influence is increasingly insured in all youth brigades, enterprises, production cooperatives and the animal production facilities.

(5) The kreis delegates conference, on the basis of the Central Committee election directive, must politically be prepared and organized in such a way that it will perform a creative and concrete contribution to further implementing the tasks referred to in Comrade Erich Honecker's Gera speech and the implementation tasks for the 1981 economic plan.

This deeper understanding of the new tasks and conditions of the 1980's must be reflected in the quality of the status reports and the creative discussions as well as in the concreteness of the kreis delegates conference resolution.

The kreis delegates conference has to make a vital contribution to steeling the comrades ideologically and turning them into fighters for the implementation of the party resolutions and for improving the level of political mass activity.

At the kreis delegates conference the competition initiatives and the commitments made in honor of the 10th party congress have to be evaluated, high dedication is to be paid tribute to, and those party and work collectives are to be aided which do not yet meet the criteria set adequately. For that reason the forum of the kreis delegates conference is to be used for an important exchange of experience leading to the application of the best performance and work methods.

That also lays important foundations for the campaign programs of the basic organizations about which the party collectives should make decisions immediately after the kreis delegates conference.

The kreis delegates conference decides on the contribution the kreis is to make to worthily preparing the 10th SED Congress. Precise determinations are wanted for the political-ideological, economic and intellectual-cultural demands made on the party organizations, state organs and all social forces for the all-round fulfillment of the 1981 economic plan. The main emphasis tasks needed for it should be stated briefly and succinctly.

The suggestions, recommendations and criticism proposed during the plan discussion and the party elections by the party members and working people are to be analyzed at the kreis delegates conference. Their implementation is to be assessed and to be used for the benefit of management activity.

#### Text of Directive

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 14, 1980 signed to press 10 Jul 80  
'Party Documents' supplement pp 1-24

[Resolution of the 12th Plenum of the SED Central Committee of 22 May 1980: "Directive of the SED Central Committee for Carrying Out the 1980-1981 Party Elections"]



[Text] The 1980-81 party elections come wholly under the sign of the preparation for the 10th SED Congress. All party organizations are coming up with balance-sheets on how the Ninth SED Congress resolutions have been realized, and they are preparing the communists for the time to come. The 11th and 12th Central Committee plena and the Central Committee Secretariat conference with the kreis 1st secretaries assigned the concrete tasks for it.

The party election's basic concern is to direct the party organizations and all comrades politically-ideologically at the requirements for the 1980's, create the best conditions for successfully carrying on the people-related party policy, and organize the preparation for the 10th SED Congress at a time of great initiative and mass struggle for economic efficiency improvements, so as to insure the people's material and cultural standard of living and elevating it step by step in the future also. In all public domains we must consolidate the fighting strength of the party organizations, foster the communists' unified and cohesive actions, deepen their solidarity with the masses and thereby raise our Marxist-Leninist party's leadership role.

Based on what has been achieved and oriented to high criteria, we must significantly enlarge each comrade's and each party organization's contribution to the continued implementation of the SED Program in the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan.

The magnitude and historic scope of the tasks to be resolved through the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and in the class conflict with imperialism call for high-level political-ideological work. What is especially important is to obtain a full understanding of the tasks to be resolved from all citizens and to occupy firm positions in the struggle, so as to fully exhaust all material and intellectual resources for the all-round strengthening of the GDR. The outcome of the party document check is a valuable aid in enhancing the communists' political activities and the quality of political leadership activities of all executive party organs.

I. Proceeding from the Firm Positions of Our Accomplishments, All Party Collectives Are Focusing on the Demands of the 1980's and Improve the Mass Effectiveness of the Political-ideological Work

The party elections are an occasion for giving account of the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions. They serve the goal of making all party members and candidates focus on the changed conditions under which in the 1980's the further shaping of the developed socialist society proceeds in the GDR. Based on our over-all social balance-sheet, we have to evaluate the share of any given party and work collective cogently, and inspiring new deeds. Each party organization should find its honor in conscientiously fulfilling the tasks in its area of responsibility and creating firm positions of struggle and the necessary preconditions for it.

It is important for all party collectives to demonstrate impressively how the appearance of the GDR and the life of the people change through our economic and social policy. In this, the fine results of the arduous efforts of the working people for the implementation of our party policy, directed at the good of the people as it is, are to be used to awaken optimism, pride, and a sense of strength for new breakthrough activities in preparation of the 10th party congress.

A priority concern of the party elections is to strengthen the party and work collectives in the conviction that the GDR has solid foundations for coping with the future tasks. That includes, above all, our close fighting community with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist states, our stable material-technical base, our socialist planned economy, impressive results of our economic and social policy, our working people's well tested dedication, and the reliable protection of our socialist achievements.

In the course of the party elections, the communists have to be well familiarized with the party's strategy and tactics based on the party program, and their knowledge must be further deepened about inevitabilities and interconnections in our country and in the world. What matters more than ever is to make fully prevail socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism in all citizens as their unshakable basic stance and as an essential impulse for unselfish work and high achievements for strengthening socialism.

We have to make all working people aware that the intensifying class conflict between socialism and imperialism and the changed conditions resulting therefrom are a challenge to boosting the growth of our efficiency above the measure usual up to this point. For that the crucial chainlink is combining more effectively the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution. He who himself makes the highest demands on the quality and efficiency of his work proves himself a socialist revolutionary.

Every comrade should see to it that a good political climate prevails in his work collective where initiative, creative contest and high dedication can fully unfold. Combative passion and intolerance to deficiencies are as much included in it as is the determination to surmount difficulties and obstacles.

The proven principle, "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party as well," holds true for the political life of each communist. Here word and deed are firmly interlinked, and the working people's trust in party policy is translated into high achievements for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The task of the reporting election meetings and of the delegates conferences is to pick up everything progressive that leads us onward, and use it for strengthening the efficiency of the GDR, based on the working people's high knowledge and skills. The state managers in particular should be enabled more and more to create, through the greatest circumspection and determination, the necessary conditions for creative contests for highest achievements, for the acceleration of economic growth and the boosting of labor productivity.

It greatly depends on knowing how to approach the concrete goals that tasks are informed with a sense of responsibility, personal dedication and a wealth of ideas. Every manager is expected to assume his personal responsibility for an extensive unfolding of socialist democracy and for regularly informing, and rendering accounts to, the work collectives.

The struggle for safeguarding peace occupies an important spot in the party organizations' ideological activity. This has now become the central issue for the future of mankind and for the international class struggle.

For that reason the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences must help make the comrades aware of their responsibility in these conflicts and foster their readiness to do everything for the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

In the confident dialog between the party and the people it is important to prove by the best arguments the superiority and increasing international influence of socialism, deepen the solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, and strengthen anti-imperialist bonds. At the same time our task is to expose the crimes and ills of crisis in imperialism. Along with all of this, we have to shield the citizens from any ideological enemy influences. The exacerbation of the international situation by imperialism, especially the United States, and its military threats, economic embargoes and boycotts which mark the policy for making a transition from detente to confrontation, place growing demands on our political-ideological work.

We must unmask the antihuman U.S. imperialist policy with its risks to peace and the objectives of NATO's high mobilization. It is deeply anchored in the awareness of the masses that FRG imperialism functions as the chief whip of the Brussels missile resolutions, as the strongest ally of U.S. imperialism in Western Europe, and is unscrupulously engaged in its aggressive policy.

What is important in particular is resolutely to turn back imperialism's anti-communist and anti-Sovietist agitation, reveal the causes for its having exacerbated the international situation, and expose the anti-detente nature of its course. All party members are to be reinforced, by word and deed, in their basic stance to the effect that "wherever a communist is at work, anticommunism and anti-Sovietism have no influence at all."

Aggressive political mass activities require that the party organizations know precisely at all times what moves the people, always explain political events from a firm class position, provide the comrades with cogent arguments, and argue faster than the enemy. That also calls for resolutely facing the class enemy's rumors and provocations.

It is an obvious duty for each communist to talk frankly and sympathetically with youth about all matters brought up by our struggle for strengthening socialism and safeguarding peace.

There must always stand in the party's field of vision the work with the young generation in its whole breadth--its class-bound education, fostering its love for work and its drive for revolutionary deeds, its readiness for the defense of socialism and its diversified intellectual-cultural and sports interests. Thus the party collectives should deliberate on how the FDJ organizations can be assisted in their activities so that the FDJ increasingly prove itself as the helper and fighting reserve of the SED.

## II. The Party Elections Are Aimed at Preparing the 10th SED Congress Through New Revolutionary Deeds and High Achievements for Future Economic Growth

All party organizations and every communist have the task, in preparation for the 10th SED Congress, to develop a broad mass movement for the all-round strengthening



and consolidation of our workers and farmers power. The executive party organs and basic organizations are called upon conscientiously to assess the results and experiences throughout the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions and resolutely approach the implementation of the goals that are crucial to higher achievements in their spheres of responsibility and make possible a high increase in national revenue, in the available end product. The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will set down to that end the focal points of their struggle and decide how the whole creativity of the communists and the working people's wealth of ideas are fully brought to bear on it and reserves are tapped to an unprecedented extent. They will purposefully direct their political-ideological and organizational work at such fundamental tasks of intensification as obtaining scientific-technical top achievements and a rapid economic utilization of them, a better utilization of our energy and raw material base and of basic assets, and the most rational manpower employment.

Special promotion is warranted for all competition initiatives that guarantee a steep boost of labor productivity, make possible for 1980 a commodity production in excess of the plan tasks at the magnitude of two working days, primarily through material saving, dropping below allocated costs.

Growing importance attaches to the deepening of socialist economic integration with the USSR and the other CEMA member countries. In this field too it is important to turn efficiency and quality into the criterion for our work and realize all tasks proper as to contracts and scheduled deadlines agreed on. This requires thoroughly to compute the input/output of any integration measure and base the plans on that.

At that the party organizations have to direct their party control.

It is a matter of honor for each party collective and each communist reliably to fulfill, day after day, all economic plan tasks. The reporting election meetings assess how the objectives are reached in the party organizations' campaign programs and how conscientiously the obligations in socialist competition are met. The party organizations devote all their strength to creating good preconditions for starting the 1981 plan by their fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the 1980 economic plan, and thus also for the 1981-1985 Five-Year Plan. In the contest for the Central Committee's banner of honor, the party organizations mobilize the working people for new revolutionary acts and high achievements.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences deliberate and decide how, in honor of the 10th SED Congress, the completion of objects, projects and new products can be guaranteed in accordance with the plan and ahead of time, as they serve to strengthen the GDR's material-technical base, secure the living standard achieved, and raise, step by step, the people's material and cultural standard of living for the future as well.

Based on a thorough analysis of the achievements of the best workers and of the conditions under which they are brought about, the reporting election meetings deliberate on and decide concrete measures for the study, all-round dissemination and broad application of proven work and management experiences.



Because of the economic importance of the industrial and construction combines, their party organizations bear a special responsibility for fully utilizing the possibilities inherent in these large economic units. They determine how the best experiences of these well functioning combines throughout the years are to be applied, the speed in approximating their progressive level can be accelerated, and it is made sure that the concentrated strength all combine enterprises provide for dynamic economic efficiency improvements makes itself still more felt.

Through experience exchange, performance comparisons and various other forms of making experience available, we must overcome the essential differences in the development of the level and speed of performance and tap reserves at new orders of magnitude.

The trade unions, these schools of socialism, have to assume greater responsibility in this process. The party collectives will discuss how the comrades in the trade unions can bring a more effective influence to bear on developing the working people's willingness for performance and innovations. Each creative idea has to be respected and fully used as a thing of value.

The main thing, however, is to take better account of the political function of socialist competition as the field in which the working people exercise power and actively participate in economic management and planning. Scientific labor organization has to be furthered. Growing attention is required for the shaping of all-round educated personalities, the development of the socialist way of life, and the strengthening of a socialist attitude toward work and public property.

The dedication of the working youth, mainly the youth brigades, must be channeled at those competition objectives which accelerate scientific-technical progress and lead to a rapid improvement of the quality and efficiency of labor. The movement of the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow and the innovator movement of the young workers and young scientists ought to be aimed still more at the realization of the science and technology plans.

The party organizations find as the focal point of their work the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, the crucial chainlink for improving the GDR's economic efficiency.

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences, they will conscientiously analyze the situation in this field, critically examine the targets up to now, and make sure that tasks are assigned that meet the new requirements. It is of special significance - here to achieve top performances on a broad basis, put R&D data more rapidly into production, and utilize them in large volume.

In their party-education work, the party organizations urge the comrades to be willing to gage their own performance implacably against world standards and to make stricter demands on the elaboration and implementation of the science and technology plans and on their duty notebooks.

The party organizations will still more effectively influence socialist cooperative procedures between R&D, design, technology and production and among combines, enterprises, science institutions and universities, so that an economically noticeable rationalization thrust is achieved as rapidly as possible. Those political-

ideological and organizational tasks will have to be worked out the solution of which serves to boost the technical and technological level of production thoroughly and further improve the working people's working and living conditions. To be accelerated on a priority basis here are the development and use of microelectronics, the use of industrial robots and of electronic computer technology, and the quantitative as well as qualitative development of the construction of their own means of rationalization.

What mainly has to come under party control is that through the development and introduction of modern technologies and procedures top commodities are produced in large numbers and with the lowest costs, and jobs, manpower and working time are saved in new magnitudes. Especially with respect to this the party organizations are analyzing the outcome of the struggle for improving investment efficiency. They are setting down measures to insure a greater performance increase as rapidly as possible from every mark invested.

In combative impatience the party organizations continuously are seeking new ways for improving labor efficiency and economically handling all material and financial funds. The communists must provide the decisive impulses in their work collectives for frankly and honestly coming to grips with all those factors that obstruct the full capacity use of working hours and basic assets. No party organization must dodge complicated tasks or tolerate a liberal attitude toward deficiencies and weaknesses.

In their reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the comrades thoroughly discuss how the energy and materials economy can be significantly improved. Obsolete ideas and outdated norms for the use of material funds must be surmounted there fast. It mainly is necessary greatly to reduce the specific consumption of energy sources, largely to replace heating oil as fuel by soft coal, and perceptibly to diminish Diesel and carburetor fuel consumption by more rational transport technologies and by optimizing transportation routes. And no routine handling is to be permitted in this field.

Especially the communists in the R&D collectives and other production-preparation areas help reduce significantly the raw material and material consumption through improved volume-performance ratios and material and energy-saving designs, techniques and procedures and help attain a higher degree of refinement for all raw materials. In all economic areas the comrades see to a far better hold on and processing and utilization of secondary raw materials.

In the party organizations of the combines, export and foreign trade enterprises, political management activity must more effectively still be aimed at resolutely meeting our foreign economy tasks. That is a basic issue of our economic and social policy. Decisive weight attaches to considerably increasing our export capacity through the development and production of commodities that can compete on the world market and therefore can be exported under advantageous conditions and with a high lucrativeness in foreign exchange. At the same time we must, with the greatest resolution, struggle for reducing imports, especially from the nonsocialist economic region. The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will adopt concrete measures about that.

Greater attention is required for providing foreign trade functionaries with political qualifications and for passing on the best experiences in businesslike expertise for concluding beneficial sales contracts.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences will compute how the programs for developing and producing new top commodities in consumer goods are carried out both for the population and for export.

They deliberate on and decide how the contributions by their enterprises and combines to offering stable supplies of basic goods may be increased and the populace be supplied with modern, attractive consumer goods at fine qualities and large volumes.

The focal point of the work of the party organizations in commerce lies on reliably supplying the populace day after day. Highly efficient end products must become far more ample. The initiatives of the comrades in the trade collectives must be aimed at offering to the population, speedily and with the smallest losses, goods set aside for public supplies through sales. Through expanding the scope of public services and qualitative improvements in customer service, the comrades in the service enterprises seek further advances.

The party organizations in construction are well advised in still better meeting their special responsibility for strengthening the material-technical base of our economy and for implementing our sociopolitical program. By analyzing the Seventh Construction Conference of the GDR, they arrive at conclusions for their management activity so as to promote the initiative of the builders for decisively improving the efficiency and quality of investment and construction activities. The comrades insist on broadly applying well proven and new highly productive techniques and construction methods and on creating good conditions for their target-directed work in line with project and brigade contracts.

It is a concern of the work in party education to hand over within schedules, in particular, all planned construction projects for strengthening the GDR's economic efficiency, in our complex housing construction, science and public education and in the social, medical and cultural domains.

Focal points for party controls are the struggle for greatly improving labor productivity while making full use of working hours and technology, a decisive reduction of energy and material consumption, the reduction of costs, the quality improvement of labor, and the reduction of construction time frames.

High requirements are placed on the basic organizations of the transport system. The comrades are bringing a stronger influence to bear on a rational cooperation between the producing fields and the transport system so as to tap further reserves through new techniques and extensive rationalization, fully use the transport capacities, and save fuels. It is of special importance here broadly to apply the best experiences of the plant traffic communities and of the loading and unloading teams.

In the reporting election meetings of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the comrades are giving thought to the contribution by their collectives to assuring the population at all times of stable supplies in high-grade foods and industry, of raw materials. Through production intensification and the application

of scientific-technical data they concentrate on making better use of natural and economic conditions for boosting production and for further social development in the countryside.

Of the greatest value for it is the rich store of experience of the cooperative farmers and workers. In the party organizations it has to be set down how differences in levels are to be reduced, all collectives are to be brought closer to the achievement level of the best ones and thus significant production reserves can be tapped.

The party collectives also ought to bring a stronger influence to bear on enforcing the principles of socialist industrial management and handling all material and financial funds with greatest efficiency.

An important fighting task for the comrades in crop production is to create the preconditions for high and stable yields, mainly in grain, sugar beets, forage crop and vegetables. Due to the strategic rank grain holds in the international class conflict, all activities toward significantly boosting grain production in particular are of increasing political importance.

LPG, GPG and VEG party organizations will make sure that every square meter of soil is used efficiently and extensive measures are laid down for steadily improving the fertility of the soil. They are to be built into long-range programs for better soil utilization.

In animal production, the comrades are seeking better achievements and successes in breeding and smaller animal losses, a high forage economy and the systematic reproduction of livestock, especially cows. The party organizations foster all initiatives for boosting production in the individual private plots of the cooperative farmers.

In the LPG's and VEG's and their cooperative facilities and in the other enterprises of agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, the comrades are organizing a resolute struggle for a full capacity use of the equipment and its careful maintenance. More initiative is to be applied to the rationalization of reconstruction to expand production capacities, cut down on jobs and improve working and living conditions.

The party organizations deliberate on and decide how the cooperative farmers and workers can still more extensively be drawn into the management and planning of farm production. Special attention must be given to the development of socialist democracy, the strict observance of the statute and inner structure in each LPG, and the party influence in the work and management collectives.

In conformity with the principles for the work of the cooperation councils in socialist agriculture, the comrades will make sure that the effectiveness of these elected democratic organs and their party groups is enhanced and that good cooperation between crop and animal production is insured.



### III. In Science, Education, Culture and Public Health, the Communists Are Performing New Creative Deeds for the All-round Strengthening of the GDR

In the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR, science, education, culture and public health are gaining increasing importance. On them, the purposeful implementation of the main task greatly depends.

The reporting election meetings of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and of the universities, colleges and technical schools ought to lend new impulses to the struggle for high scientific teaching and research results and their effective application in practice. Therefore the comrades are being advised on how they can with capacities and funds available attain high-level achievements and apply them rapidly to the all-round strengthening of the GDR.

The focal point of our political-ideological work is to render more prominent our fighting position of always proceeding from social requirements in our scientific work, implacably gaging our research results against international top standards and enlarging its contribution to the elaboration of fundamental problems in social and scientific-technical progress.

The party organizations are considering how the complex cooperation between science and production can be more successfully organized and more effectively concentrated on economic main tasking areas. They determine by which activities they can draw conclusions from the Fifth Academic Conference of the GDR and how the comrades can be enabled to live up to the qualitatively new demands placed on science and education. A priority concern in our party work continues to be relevant training and the communist education of the students and the new generation of scientists, the selection and support of gifted functionaries, and the promotion of socialist military education and military skills for the students.

In the party organizations in public education what matters is to fulfill the school policy resolutions of the ninth party congress by purposefully implementing the requirements of the Eighth Educational Congress. In their reporting election meetings, the comrades deliberate on and decide how we will continue lending more substance to our secondary schools, deepen their polytechnical character and perfecting communist education.

The school party organizations foster the desire for a higher quality of pedagogic work and the creative search for more efficient methods of instruction and education. Each comrade's contribution is measured, particularly, in terms of how he provides the growing generation with solid technical knowledge and achieves exemplary results in ideological and moral education.

The party collectives pay attention to enabling the pedagogs always to derive their own conclusions for their pedagogic work from the concrete political situation in domestic and foreign policy.

What matters in the reporting election meetings of the cultural and art institutions and organizations is a wider spread of political-ideological and art debate so as to deepen the understanding of the artists and creators of culture for the revolutionary changes in the GDR and in the community of the socialist states and for the class

conflict with imperialism. From there the party collectives derive their criteria and requirements for creating art of socialist realism. This pertains to works that exercise a lasting effect on the consciousness development of the GDR citizens and their participation in the further shaping of the developed socialist society and in the struggle for peace.

Measures for the political-ideological education of the creators of art and culture, the development of close relations with industrial and agricultural collectives, and an efficient policy on giving out commissions should aid the generation of new works of art informed with party-mindedness, solidarity with the people, and socialist ideas. Special attention should be given the young authors and artists and the training and communist education of the new generation of artists.

The party collectives in public health and social welfare, the medical departments at the universities and the medical academies direct their political-ideological work at enhancing the party and state consciousness of their associates, in mobilizing them for high achievements in medical care, research and instruction.

The reporting election meetings take measures on improving the training for the citizens' medical and social care. To that end, scientific insights and effective forms of socialist cooperative work are to be promoted and applied. The level of in-patient and out-patient treatment is to be improved. Political and technical training as well as deepening the relations of confidence between physicians, nurses and patients call for special attention by the party organizations.

It is in the interest of gaining time and providing a higher level of medical care for the patients as well as further improvements in the working and living conditions of the physicians and nurses that the party organizations boost their influence on the socialist rationalization and reconstruction of existing facilities and the optimum utilization of all material and financial funds.

#### IV. The Further Strengthening of Socialist State Power and a Reliable Protection of the Achievements of Socialism Are of Constant Concern to Each Communist

Proceeding from the leadership role of the SED in state and society, the party organizations are giving thought to how the overall social tasks can still better be solved, socialist democracy be more broadly spread and socialist legality be made safe. They are constantly reinforcing the unshakable solidarity between the party, the state and the people and are promoting the state-conscious thinking and conduct of all citizens. Conforming with their responsibility, the comrades will see to it that the citizens are still better informed about, and involved in, all decisions and measures affecting their lives.

The authority of state power and of its organs must be strengthened all-around. The party organizations in the state organs bear a great responsibility for further strengthening socialist state power and closely tying it to the masses. Their reporting election meetings, therefore, are mainly concerned with using all creative potentials for stable economic efficiency improvements. The comrades will discuss the measures that insure an all-round fulfillment of the plan tasks every day. Improving the level of political-ideological activity must help enhance the quality and efficiency of public work and help assist all associates of the state apparatus

in their fulfilling their tasks. It is politically highly important to react fast and expediently to the citizens' petitions, recommendations, requests and criticism. When petitions are justified, all possibilities of the plan, the local reserves and, above all, the initiative of the enterprises and of the citizens themselves have to be fully exhausted to have them brought to realization. Nowhere it must be tolerated that suggestions from the citizens remain unanswered or their confidence in state power is upset by empty promises.

In the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences the comrades are considering how all members of the state apparatus can more effectively help the deputies in their work. They make sure that the people's representatives, for a constant and confident dialog with their voters, always get up-to-date information on overall party and state policy, communal policy tasks and the plan process.

A broad field of struggle by the party organizations in the state organs lies in improving the economic and social effectiveness of territorial rationalization. In the cooperation between the local organs of state power and the enterprises and facilities the main thing is to draw on all industrial and territorial resources for economic efficiency improvements and gradually to improve working and living conditions. Greater advances are needed in our effective use of our public labor assets, the rational utilization of our basic assets, and the saving of energy, propellants, fuels and material. The party organizations will determine how the control right as vested in the party statute be exercised in this direction.

The comrades will draw conclusions for the further strengthening of socialist legality, safety, discipline and security, an uninhibited fulfillment of all the tasks in the economic plan and the prevention of avoidable losses. That demands heightened vigilance of all communists, an exemplary observance of socialist legal norms, and the care for the protection of social property from destruction, theft and fraud.

A central task of the party organizations in all public domains is constantly perfecting our national defense, the fulfillment of our internationalist obligations within the Warsaw Pact.

The requirements for socialist national defense, preparing a state of defense, promoting the responsibility of all citizens for the protection of socialism and of state security, and the planned allocation of the economic and personnel requirements needed for it are a firm element of the political leadership activity of the party organizations.

We must reinforce the conviction in all citizens that the defense of peace and of the achievements of socialism is the basic precondition for the growth of economic performance and for any step in improving the people's material and cultural standard of living. More than ever, due to imperialism's exacerbation of its aggressive course, the readiness for the defense of our socialist fatherland has to be fostered among all citizens, especially the youth.

It is in line with the overall social responsibility of a reliable national defense that the party organizations make appropriate efforts within the work collectives, tighten still more the citizens' solidarity with the armed organs, deepen defense motivation and defense readiness and reliably fulfill all tasks in taking charge and taking care of a new military generation.



Reinforcing the fighting strength and combat readiness of the militia and the active participation by the citizens in civil defense deserve great attention.

The focal point of party work in the NVA, the border troops of the GDR, and the other protective and security organs is the task to enable all communists to fulfill their class mission in an exemplary fashion through initiative-rich, unified, and disciplined conduct. Thereby they are making their most important contribution to improving the fighting strength and combat readiness, the quality and effectiveness of political and combat training. The party organizations are bringing a greater influence to bear on a masterly control of command and combat equipment, an exemplary fulfillment of the tasks in the military service system and for the protection of the national border and high organization for military life on the whole.

The party collectives aim their main efforts at strengthening individual leadership and the class-bound education of all members of the armed organs, the development of socialist relations in all collectives and the improvement of service and living conditions.

The party organizations in the area of the Ministry for State Security bring a stronger influence to bear on the political-ideological education and the training of the associates for prudently assessing the situation in their area of responsibility and for uncovering in time, and frustrating, through a high personal dedication of theirs, any counterrevolutionary plans and designs by our enemies directed against the GDR.

In the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior, the party organizations should mainly pay attention to improving the political and technical skills of each associate and his degree of dedication. What matters is to continue and insure at all times public order and security through close cooperation with the GDR citizens.

V. Further Raising the Party's Leadership Role by Reinforcing the Fighting Strength of the Party Organizations in All Public Domains Is the Basic Premise for Coping With Future Tasks

In the reporting election meetings and the delegates conferences the party organization executives render accounts on how, in their respective areas of responsibility, the party's leadership role is further being raised, intra-party life and political mass activities are made more expedient, and the comrades are enabled conscientiously to fulfill their tasks and obligations. They evaluate their own work results objectively, pay tribute to exemplary achievements, and draw general rules from the best experiences in party and mass activity and in the political leadership of social processes. Conclusions are there then being drawn for improving all party collectives' fighting strength.

The party organizations offer status reports on the campaign programs of the basic organizations and on the resolutions of the delegates conferences. This provides good preconditions for assigning and realizing demanding goals in preparation for the 10th SED Congress. In the status reports and the discussions the comrades comment on the outcome of the party document check. Especially also from personal conversations they derive conclusions for how to perfect intra-party life further.



That implies their constantly seeking the counsel of the comrades and relying on the comrades' wealth of ideas in all their leadership activity.

A high efficiency and better grade of party work demands of the leadership collectives to comprehend the crucial chainlinks in our advances and concentrate the party collectives on solving the main questions. More persistence is needed in the struggle for objectives decided on and for desirable changes.

To raise the level of political leadership activity it is mainly necessary to provide the tasks with ideological content and to spark initiatives that lead the socialist consciousness of the communists and of all working people toward important achievements.

The performance improvement needed calls for long-range party work and calls for projections in our work, for rapidly picking up and popularizing new initiatives and effective solutions and for bringing all collectives closer to the achievements of the best ones. That implies a critical self-assessment of one's own area of responsibility at all times and taking account, in one's own management decisions, of the results and political implications to be expected from them. Connected with that are higher demands on the collectivity and personal responsibility in management activity.

The party organizations strengthen a healthy, party-minded atmosphere in the party collectives where intra-party democracy develops fully, frank criticism and self-criticism is exercised and all comrades make high demands on conscious, voluntary discipline.

The party organizations are considering how the level of membership meetings can be further raised and the work of the party groups always be made relevant. More of an opportunity has to be provided for instilling a revolutionary spirit, high activities, a strong will to perform and appropriate conduct in the communists. All those questions must carefully be answered which are raised by life itself and in which all members and candidates of the basic organizations are intensely interested. In communist frankness they should express their standpoint on the most effective implementation of party policy in their sphere of activity.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences set down measures on individually working with party members and candidates. Especially personal conversations are established as an indispensable component of successful management activity. It is to be discussed how more and more comrades can get drawn into voluntary party work, and how the strength of the party activists, the party commissions and the working teams, the whole variety of proven forms and methods in party work, can still more effectively be used. Concrete party missions are gaining increasing importance.

The strength and influence of the party organizations mainly depend on what the communists do in their work collectives. Persistently the comrades see to it that the working people identify with the party resolutions, assign high targets to themselves for implementing them and, in fighting spirit and rich in ideas, transform them into facts. In the reporting election meetings of the party groups the members and candidates give account for how they are meeting their political responsibilities within their work collectives.

The party organizations draw conclusions for further improving the level and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist education and training of the functionaries. They deliberate on how the comradely cooperation with the management functionaries can be improved on all levels and more party and state discipline can be instilled in them. It principally amounts to the kind of management style with mass solidarity that spurs the working people into high achievements and helps advance scientific-technical progress.

Political steadfastness in any situation, a combative stance in approaching lofty goals, passionate advocacy for innovations, resolute actions in overcoming obstacles, an honest, modest and sensitive dealing with the working people--these are the characteristics that distinguish socialist functionaries.

Class-conscious comrades who have proven themselves especially through daily struggle for implementing the party resolutions are to be prepared for assuming managerial functions. For the selection and systematic training and advanced training of the functionaries the party organizations adopt measures that systematically promote a young generation of functionaries from the working class and the socialist youth association.

In conformity with the social role of women in our state, we must show the proper appreciation for their achievements everywhere and, step by step, improve their working and living conditions so that they can more fully meet their responsibility as working women and mothers. The party organizations are drawing up plans for how more and more women can be provided with good qualifications for vocational advanced training and for assuming managerial functions.

An increase in fighting strength is obtainable to the extent that we succeed, on the basis of democratic centralism, in promoting the initiative of the basic organizations for implementing the party resolutions in every way, shaping firm political positions among all comrades on the new tasks, and deriving higher demands for our own work. One key issue here is making the Leninist norms for party life, as anchored in the SED Statute, into a vital maxim for each communist. We communists are members of our people and know of no greater task than to serve our people selflessly.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences are making assessments on how well the party school year helps the comrades, based on the study of the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the program and the history of the SED, to increasingly better understand overall party policy and fulfill in an exemplary manner the tasks assigned by the Central Committee.

Raising the fighting strength and consolidating the mass solidarity of the party call for better still enabling the communists to assume their responsibility in the people's representations, the mass organizations, and the National Front of the GDR, in making party policy prevail. Comrades working in public functions ought to get the opportunity to account for their work in front of their party collectives and to bring up problems that concern them. The party organizations appreciate their selfless volunteer work and they are giving thought to how their responsible political work might still more perceptibly be supported and their authority be strengthened.

As high-level public life is becoming increasingly more important in the residential area, all party organizations deal with how the comrades work politically where they live and are especially familiar with the citizens' living conditions. In comradely cooperation with the members of the other parties and the mass organizations in the National Front, the comrades are boosting their diversified political-ideological indoctrination and contribute to an active intellectual-cultural life and various activities within the "Join-in!" competition. Housing communities have become big assets. Drawing on the strength of the party activists, we must purposefully be working on helping the National Front commissions to acquire much stability and a strength of radiation in all communities and residential districts. In the residential party organizations, where the comrades are doing party work with sacrifices and dedication, thought should be given to how their rich treasure of party and life experience could still more effectively be used for political mass activity in the residential area, especially with youth.

The local delegates conferences are discussing what could be done to coordinate still more meaningfully the social forces in the towns and communities for political mass activity and economic mass initiatives and resolve issues of communal policy unbureaucratically. They consider and decide how through socialist cooperative work among towns and communities the support for crop and animal production LPG's and the development of social life in the villages could become the main concern in the work of the communal associations.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences analyze party influence in its area of responsibility. They set down how our fighting strength can be further increased by admitting the best young workers, cooperative farmers and members of the intelligentsia. This primarily concerns a class-bound strengthening of the party in those sectors that are crucial for permanent dynamic efficiency improvements. With all their strength the party organizations are supporting the FDJ initiative in preparation of the 10th SED Congress of proposing the most active members of the socialist youth association, especially those in the youth brigades, for party membership.

The reporting election meetings and delegates conferences have the character of creative working conferences with a vivid exchange of opinion and experience about the best means for implementing our tasks. They are passing resolutions aimed at fulfilling all-around the Ninth SED Congress requirement in their area of responsibility. They decide on how in the party itself and with all citizens a broad democratic discussion is being conducted about the tasks for the years from 1981 to 1985, and by which activities the mass movement in preparation of the 10th SED Congress receives additional impulses.

The party groups, departmental party organizations and basic organizations are setting down measures for the struggle for the all-round fulfillment and optimum overfulfillment of the economic plan down to the last day of 1980, and for a smooth start of the 1981 plan. Relying on the results of the plan discussion, they work out the positions for demanding campaign programs for 1981 that are to be passed on in the January 1981 membership meetings.

Kreis delegates conferences take one day, bezirks delegates conferences take two. They include those tasks in their resolutions that have to be solved up to the 10th party congress, ensure an all-round fulfillment and overfulfillment of the 1981 economic plan, and adumbrate lofty goals for the next five-year plan period.

The 1980/81 party elections receive especial importance by electing managements able to meet the demands of the 1980's. Such comrades, male and female, therefore should be elected into the new managements who because of their exemplary public activity and their work achievements, and because of their selfless dedication to the rights of the people, enjoy great respect and are continuously working for an unshakable relationship of trust between the party and the people. Those are comrades who, with a sense of responsibility, a combative attitude, revolutionary passion and personal commitment, are ready and in the position to mobilize the working people for a high and dynamic growth of performance. They distinguish themselves by explaining party policy with conviction and firmness of principle and by never dodging any ideological debates.

It is up to the bezirk managements, municipal managements, kreis managements and city district managements of the party to help the basic organizations in preparing and conducting the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences in situ. They, at regular intervals, assess the course of the party elections and secure a complete registration of the basic organizations' wealth of ideas. Their special attention is directed to rapidly making use of proven work and management experiences and new initiatives, which are made available to all and applied to the further perfecting of management activity.

In the course of the party elections, good experiences in party and mass activity, new initiatives and exemplary achievements should be published by people's correspondents and various means in our central organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in bezirk and enterprise papers.

Bezirk and kreis managements and the managements of basic organizations will insure, in conformity with the information plan issued by the Central Committee Secretariat, conscientious reporting on the outcome of the reporting election meetings and delegates conferences.

The executive party organs receive the suggestions, recommendations and criticism of the reporting election meetings and, with high responsibility, draw conclusions from them for their management activity. Kreis and bezirk delegates conferences and the mass media react to questions and problems brought up in the course of the party elections as long as they are of general interest.

All party organizations let themselves be guided in their political leadership activity by the consideration that the party will come out of the party elections all the stronger, and the increase in the confidence of the masses in party policy will be all the greater, the better we succeed in turning the 10th SED Congress preparations into a cause for all the people.

#### VI. For the Rendering of Accounts and the New Election of Managements the Following Schedules Have Been Set Down:

Based on the party statute (points 51a, 56 and 64) and on the Central Committee's election system, the rendering of accounts and the new election of managements of the basic organizations, kreis and bezirk party organizations will take place between 1 October 1980 and 22 February 1981, to wit:



From 1 October to 6 December 1980 the rendering of accounts and new election of the party organizers, their deputies, the managements of the departmental party organizations and the managements of the basic organizations and of the local managements; from 10 January to 24 January 1981 the delegates conferences on rendering accounts and new election of kreis, city and city district managements; from 14 February to 22 February 1981 the delegates conferences on rendering accounts and new election of bezirk managements.

5885

CSO: 2300

USE OF TERM 'SOLIDARITY' BY ENEMIES OF SOCIALISM ATTACKED

Halle FREIHEIT in German 14 Nov 80 p 11

[Article by Peter Gieseler: "Reflections on Our Times: Political Transvestites and Solid Solidarity--About a Word Which the Class Enemy Is Attempting To Misuse"]

[Text] When something carries the designation solid, then it must be solid--firm, stable, reliable, sound. Therefore if a person says solid, that's what he means. Generally communication is only possible through agreement of concept and content. Certainly every language has its ambiguous words and expressions, indeed how else should humorists and their audiences get their laughs. But there are concepts which are absolutely clear, which one can use and understand in only one way. One of these strong words is the solid word solidarity, which even stems from solid.

Why this preface about the obvious? In any case doesn't everyone understand solidarity for what it is?

When in Bonn on the Rhine--in full possession of their sovereignty of course--they knuckled under to the American Olympic boycott, they cloaked this political foul as "necessary solidarity with the American athletes." Now, that was no slip of the tongue, that was cool calculation, knowing that the word "solidarity" evokes positive associations among all decent men. And if it is a matter of demagogy, influencing and brainwashing of the masses, they do not shrink from taking this hatred, because feared, word on their filthy tongues.

A unique case? Meanwhile it is sufficiently known that the NATO rocket decision was decisively initiated and supported by the FRG. It is less known perhaps how its realization is motivated. People speak of the necessity of the "solidarity of Western Europe with the United States of America," of the pledge of "solidarity with the Pentagon."

It is grotesque and at the same time repugnant to hear this proud word from the side of the barricade against which it is directed. For solidarity does not mean simply help and support. Solidarity is class solidarity; it is directed against imperialism, war and oppression. Since the First International, solidarity in this sense has been the holy banner of the working class and of all oppressed peoples of the world.

It is not new for the class enemy to borrow verbally from the proletariat, to use concepts which are connected with the liberation struggle of the working class and its historic mission. Thus he arouses false expectations, he attempts to conceal his policy which is hostile to the people. Or does anyone believe that the Nazis had anything to do with socialism, even if "national" and with a worker's party, as they pretended? No, no one believes that. And today no one can believe that everyone who says solidarity means solidarity. One must have a good look at his words and deeds.

Whoever says solidarity honestly means, as do we GDR citizens, that which we have received and given. Whoever says solidarity honestly means the "lifegiving principle among all workers of all countries," of which Karl Marx spoke; it means "Proletarians of the world, unite"; it means "Save Corvalan"; it means "Freedom for Angela Davis"; it means Cuba, Vietnam, Angola, and Mozambique; it means today also Nicaragua and El Salvador. Whoever says solidarity honestly means the class and class enemy.

Yes, for our people, for GDR citizens, the word solidarity is absolutely clear. This people--we all--have grown up with this word and the action behind it. This country is a child of solidarity and a bulwark of solidarity. It is the doctrine of the state, of the ruling worker class, of the whole working population. It is an affair of the heart for young and old. This solidarity is an ingredient of the power of the workers and peasants. And when we say that no one will ever be permitted to play with this power or even touch it, then we also declare solidarity to be inviolable.

Even though it disgusts us and every decent man to see how these political transvestites attempt to slip on the spotless dress of solidarity, they cannot desecrate it. On their fat bodies it looks threadbare and reveals the deception.

"Because the situation of the workers of all countries is the same, because their interests, their enemies are the same, they must pit a brotherhood of the workers of all peoples against the brotherhood of the bourgeoisie of all people's," Friedrich Engels said almost 133 years ago on 29 November 1847. This brotherhood of the workers of all peoples is today no distant goal, it is to a great extent living, successful reality. This brotherhood of the workers of all peoples, our great cause of solidarity, has one thrust, one enemy, recognizes one struggle which it will wage unconditionally until victory: the struggle against the last and strongest exploitative order of human society, imperialism. Nothing and no one can distort the proletarian, anti-imperialist solidarity.

But whoever in the name of this solidarity raises so much as his little finger against the power of the working class, whoever with the word solidarity on his banner deviates so much as an inch from the way of this solidarity, will have to answer before the people, before history. No one is permitted to abuse solidarity in the name of solidarity--so strong is proletarian internationalism, so solid is our solidarity.

CSO: 2300

TRADE UNION SECRETARIES ASSESS SITUATION, AGENDA IN CHEMICAL, AGRICULTURAL FIELD

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 11, Nov 80 pp 10-21

[Interview with Ferenc Dajka, secretary general of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers and Ferenc Dobi, secretary general of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers: "Representation and Safeguarding of the Interests of Our Working People. A Conversation with Two Trade Union General Secretaries"]

[Text] There have been three nationwide discussions in our country during this year: the party congress and its preparatory phase; the one preceding the National Assembly and local council elections, organized by the Patriotic People's Front; the trade union elections in progress since the Spring. They reviewed the preceding period and defined the tasks of the future.

The congresses and delegates' assemblies of particular unions were especially significant because they reflected directly the short and long range interests of working, productive, creative people. Workers and their representatives talked about what they consider to be the most important questions affecting people's lives in the present difficult economic situation, how they see the contribution unions can make to improve our work and living conditions and what is their view of the tasks that are destined to shape the next five years of our country.

After the branch congresses but before the December congress of the trade union movement, our editors discussed these questions with comrade Ferenc Dajka, general secretary of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers and comrade Ferenc Dobi, general secretary of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers.

Ferenc Dajka

Secretary General of the Trade Union of Chemical Workers

[Question] What conditions and changes had the greatest effect on the chemical industry and, in particular, the productive and economic condition and position of chemical industry workers in the last five years?

[F. Dajka] Let us start with the positive side, the one that is truly important. This branch of industry has continually enjoyed the support of the entire society throughout the last five years. This was apparent from the resolutions adapted



by party, state and economic bodies and organizations which defined the principles, distribution and concrete form of development opportunities as well as the constant interest, signals and reactions of public opinion. It is no exaggeration to say that chemical industry is, in a sense, a national cause because of its economic importance, its direct and indirect effects on other sectors, the work and conditions of workers in those sectors and its role in influencing our entire future.

The nation continued to make great sacrifices on behalf of the chemical industry in the recent past. A number of important investment projects have been completed. Important production facilities and research institutes came into being. The industry has seen the emergence of a new leadership and new creative capacities in the course of planning and implementing large scale capital projects. Our high quality base of skilled workers has made further progress in the course of using new production methods. Thus, the strength of subjective productive forces has increased: this is indispensable for further technical development, improved economic efficiency, quality and exportability. As a result, our industry will be able to rapidly repay its indebtedness to the country for the credits and support it has received.

[Question:] What was the negative side of the external conditions and trends?

[F. Dajka] It is commonplace, but true: there are not many branches of industry that were affected as directly and early by the price explosion in the world economy as was ours. Everyone knows how fast the price of oil, oil products and various chemical feedstocks kept surging ahead. Our feedstocks and raw materials have never been cheap; today, they are very expensive. The rise in energy prices was felt especially keenly by aluminum metallurgy which also belongs to our sector.

[Question] What were the most serious consequences of the dramatic increase in the price of raw materials, feedstocks and energy?

[Answer] I will not give a list of all of the consequences that led to serious difficulties. Instead, I will mention only one that has apparently led to the most difficult problem from the standpoint of the functions and activities of our trade union related to the safeguarding of the worker's interests. I just mentioned the decisive importance of development projects for the industry. Compared to these, the obsolescence of a great number of our older chemical plants and some of our installations is even more intolerable. The leadership and trade union committees of these plants and the central trade union organizations are fully aware of the implications of this state of affairs for the direct working conditions, health and safety of the workers. It is not surprising that a number of delegates at our congress called attention, with a sense of urgency, to the situation at their plants. Some said they felt as if they were working next to a ticking bomb.

How is this related to the oil and raw material price rises? These price rises and less than efficient work reduced the available resources and ate up the money set aside for reconstruction that has been considered urgent for a long time. In some plants the situation has not only not improved but actually got worse.

This involves more than just the present. Serious tensions have arisen within the sector and also in comparison with other sectors, involving the future, not just of the obsolete plants, but also the chemical industry as a whole. Comrade Janos Oroszlan, trade union committee secretary of the Nitrochemical Industry Plants said at our congress, very convincingly, that the introduction of modern technology involves some problems because it requires better trained workers; but this is, in the final analysis, a pleasant problem to have since it feels good to work in a modern plant and workers, in general, are happy to undergo training or continued education. In those cases, however, when new products are made in old, obsolete plants, it is difficult to find skilled and even semi-skilled workers, especially young professionals. When an enterprise has just 2 or 3 plants or divisions with bad working conditions, even if they are not excessively bad, this has a sensible negative effect on the number of applications for apprenticeship training in all chemical industry jobs within the region. This is why the future comes into the picture.

[Question] You mentioned that some plants and installations are intolerably obsolete but the financial resources necessary for their reconstruction are not available. What can the trade union do in such a situation?

[F. Dajka] Of course, we are aware of the difficult financial situation and we are listening to explanations and arguments. We know and we understand the magnitude of the difficulties faced by the ministry in relation to investments. We accept the planned slowdown of investments. But, as the representatives of our colleagues working under intolerable conditions in obsolete plants, we cannot accept any further delays of urgent reconstruction projects. Occupational safety, health and adequate social conditions cannot be separated from production. This is not a subject for debate or bargaining, even though we recognize that the advocacy and protective functions of the trade unions involve more than just the results they can accomplish: they also mean, on occasion, the postponement and prioritization of justified claims. Let me repeat, however: fundamental issues such as safety technology and occupational health must be taken care of even under more difficult economic and financial conditions.

We were pleased to see that the minister agreed with the substance of our stand in the course of our congressional debate when he stated that fundamental requirements of occupational health must never be rejected on the basis of more difficult economic conditions.

[Question] The formulation of production and management strategy and the organization and direction of the implementation of this strategy on the industry or enterprise scale still remain the task of the economic leadership, even under the present difficult conditions. In what way could trade unions contribute to this process?

[F. Dajka] For example, they may use their resources, in line with the stand taken by the party committees, to speak out against complaining and paralysis as a reaction to changing conditions, whether the people involved are part of the economic leadership or certain groups of workers. Trade unions and our trade union, in particular, have a role to play in the work initiated and directed by the party and aimed at the shaping of attitudes and practical actions, sensitivity in the service of problem recognition, increased intellectual efforts toward the

formulation of alternative solutions and improved capacity for complete and precise execution. This is the kind of effect we would like to have on the primary responsible organizations and leaders of the economy and production and on the proper functions and activities of the trade unions, including their role in promoting production.

[Question] Would you please discuss in detail what you mean by "proper functions and activities" of trade unions and their role in promoting production?

[F. Dajka] Before answering, I would like to emphasize that the activities and goals of the economic leadership and trade unions have a common basis, in spite of natural differences in our respective approaches and functions. Let us consider this in concrete terms, with some slight simplification. The approach of the economic leadership is to develop technologies, improve efficiency and quality, increase reasonable savings, flexibly and rapidly adapt to a changing product structure, technology and work organization and raise production skills and sophistication. By now it is well-known that accomplishing these goals requires the active involvement of workers which, in turn, is predicated on finding, introducing and maintaining the most efficient material and moral incentive mechanisms relying on the interests and involvement of collectives and individuals.

The approach of the trade unions is to represent and secure the day-to-day and long term interests, demands and requirements of the workers. Their stand in this regard is quite clear: the only realistic basis for satisfying present and emerging demands, requirements and interests is found in better, more efficient production, work organization, more rational and economical management of material, energy and labor; rapid, flexible adaptation and a suitable incentive system.

Thus, the common basis on which we meet is, in fact, the meaning and aims of building socialism: optimal satisfaction of the workers' needs. This is a solid, broad and secure common base. This is the base on which we can and must decide concrete questions, in sharp debates and clashes if necessary, to make it possible to discover the realistic, justified direct and long term interests of the nation, specific branches of industry, enterprises, brigades and individual workers as well as the most effective ways of mobilizing them and sharing the results of our improved collective work.

[Question] And these, of course, must be concretely and correctly defined in each new situation, production or social unit, for every time period, through a process of real, regulated conflict.

[F. Dajka] Here, trade unions can make an important contribution, not only at the stage of confrontation preceding decisions and good compromises but also at the practical stage of execution and implementation.

But let us come back to the concrete question involving trade union activity in the sphere of production and management. What is the stand taken by trade union bodies and officials when they present their proposals and opinions regarding economic, production or development guidelines, implementation schedules or plans of action? In brief: in order for trade unions to propose that an



enterprise plan be accepted, it must generate results sufficient to create the financial means necessary to conserve and, when possible, increase what has been achieved in the area of living standards as well as social and cultural benefits provided by the enterprise.

Or let's take the intermediary role played by trade unions in today's increasingly frequent reorganizations. Decisionmakers are facing a host of real difficulties when they must redirect 300 or 400 people to a different work area. People must be pulled out of their accustomed surroundings, encouraged to learn new skills and helped to adapt to a new work environment. The interests of society dictate that such resolutions be made in spite of certain and calculable difficulties and they must be made without delay. When the trade unions are willing to accept responsibility for such decisions, they must also be willing to represent the direct views and interests of, almost literally, each one of the workers involved. In our opinion, the effects of a production process under discussion on the man taking part in it remains just as important in our present situation as such paramount factors as economic manufacturing or market saleability of the product.

[Question] What are the areas where trade unions are making their strongest push relative to production and management within enterprises?

[F. Kajka] Improved management and organizational work by the economic leadership; ensuring the conditions necessary for organized work; an industrial and work organization that provides the incentives encouraging and even forcing workers to function more effectively and perform better.

In one form or another, all of our delegates' assemblies brought up the point that production propaganda, information and arguments can only be meaningful and productive if the workplace or plant in question has an adequate production management structure and organization. It has been said many times that we are ready to accept stricter requirements and work harder; but first, the prerequisites of normal, continuous work must be provided. Let us talk about offers of improved quality after we can at least ensure that raw or base material supplies, transportation and marketing can operate without interruption.

[Question] This implies harsh and justified criticism of the economic leadership; unfortunately, the issues are quite old and well-known, and not just in the chemical industry...

[F. Dajka] Yes, but there is also a new factor which, in my opinion, implies a qualitative change. It is this: at trade union meetings and delegates' assemblies preceding our most recent congress the workers brought up this problem not just as a general complaint; in most cases, they did not even directly address the economic leadership but rather the leadership of the trade union from shop stewards to plant committees, secretaries and higher level bodies. So these (including us) should not show tolerance toward incompetent, bureaucratic or irresponsible leaders, employees or workers that are obstructing the course of production for any reason whatsoever.

I consider this a call by the masses to fulfill a task that must be taken seriously.



[Question] What are the consequences of the new situation as regards the activities of trade unions aimed at encouraging production and organizing work competitions and the brigade movement?

[F. Dajka] The report of our central committee clearly stated that the work of our trade union toward encouraging production must be better adjusted to today's demands of the enterprise and the workplace; work competition must be organized in a more practical, less formalistic manner through participation in both the formulation and execution of economic tasks at the workplace.

When we emphasized, in concrete cases and situations, the need to accept economic work competition targets only if they agree with the goals of the enterprise, many people, including even some of our own officials, interpreted our action in a way that conflicted with the voluntary character of the work competition and the principle of initiative from below. On these occasions we pointed to the need to include the workers in the formulation of overall long term economic strategy and annual medium term concrete local planning, perhaps through the trade unions. It makes sense to discuss ideas relating to production and management, alternative proposals and the ways and means of implementation with middle managers, workers and trade union groups. If this is done, and done seriously, then chances are that the pledges "from below" will be better suited to the common plan.

As a result of our determined but patient and convincing arguments, work competition pledges in chemical industry plants are now generally judged with a view towards weeding out well-intentioned pledges which do not adequately serve local economic goals and ensuring that pledges are concrete and meaningful and that brigades define their contribution to improved efficiency, material and energy conservation, better quality, etc. in terms that are suited to their real functions and possibilities. Today, practical experience shows that the voluntary character of work competition pledges and professional direction of work competition are compatible in our industry and are accepted by socialist brigades.

[Question] Up until now, we talked about production, management and the related activities and role of the trade union. Yet, it seems that imbedded in this question is the essence and the main field of action of the trade union's functions in safeguarding and representing work interests. What other concrete problems relating to the safeguarding of workers' interests and concerning entire groups have been discussed at the congress?

[F. Dajka] Of course, the housing problem was a 'hit', as always. Many people discussed it in great detail. I would mention only two aspects of this question. It was said that housing and building materials should not be a commodity and that the state should solve the housing problem almost purely as a social problem. This is impossible, not just under today's conditions but as long as merchandise is being produced, i.e., during the construction of socialism. On the other hand, our trade union must take up the question of not making any distinctions among young people under 30 with regard to housing preferences and supports because these result in a multiple, undeserved disadvantage for white collar employees (junior clerks, accountants, typists and others) whose income, as everyone knows, is lower than that of young skilled workers. According to the trade union secretary of the Peremarton Chemical Industry Enterprise, the exclusion of young engineers under 30 from the preference given to young workers is also unjustified.

The problem of a group of workers of the highest importance, the foremen directly in charge of production, has been discussed in all of its complex implications. Their responsibilities and rights are still not completely defined; in most areas, they have only the right to make proposals; less and less of qualified young workers are ready to assume this function involving a smaller income but greater responsibility.

[Question] Is the problem of foremen a problem for the trade unions to handle? Is it not the task of the economic leadership to resolve the question?

[F. Dajka] The solution of the problem of the foremen's situation is a trade union task for 3 reasons. First: this involves a substantial group of workers both in terms of their number and their importance, not just in a declarative sense. Second: the tensions and misunderstandings arising from their irregular status definitely interfere with trade union work and their cooperation with shop stewards. Third, I might repeat the consideration emphasized above, that all measures aimed at improving the organization of production are in the interest of the workers and thus the business of the trade union.

[Question] Let me mention another set of questions much discussed at the congress, where it could be asked, from an abstract and rigid viewpoint, whether it belongs under the jurisdiction of the economic leadership or the trade union. What I have in mind is wages and distribution according to performance.

[F. Dajka] We want to go beyond merely requesting this. In concrete terms, we will insist that precise scientific methods be used to set measurable performance standards for individuals and groups involved in modern chemical processes and jobs on the basis of the relevant experience of advanced industrial countries. This is because without well-defined, quantifiable performance standards, performance-related wages will remain just a slogan, especially if we do not make some progress relative to the democratic openness of performance evaluation.

On the one hand, wages according to performance are a decisive lever of production, or so they should be; on the other, they are an important factor in mobilizing and safeguarding our interests. So, is it a topic for the economic leadership or for the trade union? It is both. We will push for this in the form of a more concrete proposal because a solution will serve the interests of our own workers, our industry and the entire nation.

[Question] With regard to the content, methods and style of trade union work, what changes have become possible and necessary?

[F. Dajka] Our whole society is involved in the program for the development of socialist democracy formulated and led by the party. Trade unions play an important part in this at the front of democracy within the plant and workplace. We are talking about a long term process aimed at ensuring that working people have a decisive influence on the resolution of important questions involving their plant, enterprise or institution, that every group of workers is included in a creative way in the formulation of tasks and thereby giving maximal support to the leadership in the practical implementation of decisions.

We want to engage in straight talk, argumentation, thinking and acting together, using a style and methods that are closer to the people. We want people to tell us about their problems candidly. We will take up their problem when we can and will send appropriate signals when necessary. We would like to be more sensitive to so-called trifling matters; we would like to ensure that they are always solved in a legally correct and humane way. We are also willing to say honestly if there is nothing we can do. We try to be patient in argument when we are faced with imaginary grievances, unjustified complaints or unreasonable demands. Up until now, only the people directly involved have found out about our handling of matters of minor importance. In the future, we intend to give more publicity to this area of our work.

In years past, we have often earned the workers' appreciation by recognizing, early on, some new problems and pressing circumstances. In these cases we did not stand aside but took it upon ourselves to discover and to resolve latent tensions. Increasingly, the workers were being systematically informed of decisions affecting them and we canvassed their opinions regarding measures being taken.

The fundamental question in the working style of the central committee of our trade union is to avoid getting mired down in detail and adopting resolution on every subject. Instead, we should try to grasp problems that are truly important for our branch of industry and concentrate our efforts on solving them. We stressed at the congress that not every initiative has to come from above. Conditions, demands and needs within each enterprise require local initiatives; these can and should be started without necessarily waiting to hear from the central office.

[Question] Thus, the role and autonomy of trade union committees at the plant or enterprise level will expand, and the same will be true for the new bodies, shop steward assemblies and, of course, for each and every shop steward?

[F. Dajka] Precisely. It is our firm conviction that work on the plant or enterprise level is of paramount importance. The chief trade union steward of Nitrokemia was right when he said at the congress that shop stewards are playing a central role in our present organizational setup. They know the most about the needs, interests, goals, day-to-day problems of the group of workers they are in charge of, as well as their readiness to take action. The value judgment of these groups have also changed when they saw that the shop steward is an important person, truly capable of representing the interests of the group, working in partnership with management and participating in decisions on the enterprise level.

In a word, the authority of shop stewards has increased. They are no longer regarded as just collectors of membership dues or "stamp dealers." As a result, the majority of groups give careful thought to electing their representatives. In addition to courage and straight talk, the emphasis is on being politically well-informed, engaged, technically competent, as well as general human quality, suitable experience in the movement and in life.

It must be said that not every trade union functionary or shop steward is up to this new, more demanding function. The truth is that considerable qualifications



are necessary: in addition to the factors mentioned above, one must be well-informed in economics and labor law and acquainted with legislation and resolutions. Therefore, perhaps the most important task facing the central committee and central authorities is to train and give assistance to the "officers and warrant officers" struggling at the "outposts" within enterprises, in order to enable them to carry out their complex, manifold tasks.

Ferenc Dobi

Secretary general of the Trade Union of Agricultural, Forestry and Water Supply Workers

[Question] What were the conditions affecting the work of trade union organizations operating in agriculture, forestry lumber and water supply organizations? How did these conditions change in the five years covered by the reporting period?

[F. Dobi] The work of the first two branches (and, indirectly and partially, of the water supply sector) are measured, in the final analysis, by quality of food supplies and forest products available to the populations as well as the size and quality of exports generated by the sector. In the past five years, our agriculture produced many products that can compete with the most advanced agricultures of the world in terms of yields, harvest volumes and production costs. Our production results made it possible to provide high quality supplies to satisfy domestic demand and to increase exports produced on gradually declining acreage during the past 5 years.

The characteristic change is a radical turnabout in the basic methods of agricultural production during the last decade. This led to a sharp increase in import demand. We need enormous quantities of chemical raw materials and machines; a substantial part of this demand cannot be supplied by the domestic background industry. Our import needs are especially significant in two areas: modern agricultural machinery and proteins. This is one of the biggest burdens of our entire sector because we have no control over import prices which have been increasing continuously and almost without letup. We can expect similar conditions in the future.

Our congressional debate reflected two different processes whose effects are closely related. One is the price explosion in the world market leading to a sharp jump in import prices. This was not predictable; it arrived unexpectedly and its dimensions were quite impossible to calculate ahead of time. At the same time, it forced us to react quickly. The other process, the development of industrialized agricultural production, was predictable. Although the size and proportions were imprecise, we knew by the beginning of the decade that this was going to become characteristic of agriculture by the second half of the 1970's and that demands associated with modern machinery and chemicals were going to increase at a rapid pace. The dimensions of this process are indicated, for example, by the fact that the industrial base is responsible for supplying 70 percent of the total material requirements of state farms. Although many aspects of this process were seen at the time, the necessary awareness and consistency to create this industrial base was lacking.

[Question] What was the extent and way in which trade union work was able to help in recognizing and solving these problems?



[F. Dobi] One of the most important tasks faced by the trade union in recent years was related precisely to recognizing the problem. In the past, we negotiated about national production questions in agriculture at the upper leadership levels. I remember well some of the conversations at the end of the 1960's: at that time, even the leaders of cooperative farms doing a good job did not precisely know the national average yield of the crops they were raising, not to mention knowing whether their production was economic or not. The key question of the present is to ensure that everyone working in our area is aware of the exact worth of their work, the results of producing crops in other farms and that they are able to compare the results of their labors to the national average as well as the best achievements. Such knowledge may mobilize people to work better.

Thus, concrete development of one of the important elements of socialist democracy, the flow of information, is at the center of our work, in order to ensure that people are informed about the true value of their work, the results and effects of their actions. Today we can safely say that a substantial portion of workers in agriculture know exactly, even to the last penny, the value of their work when it is performed well and the consequences of their mistakes.

Requirements regarding food supplies were formulated in front of the widest public opinion of society during the past five years. Although this wide publicity may not have been the most comfortable initially, it had a beneficial effect on our actions in the end. Due to radio, television and the daily press, public opinion quickly found out about our problems, achievements, important results and mistakes. Our work has been carried out under the eyes of society. The workers of agriculture sense that the results of their work are being watched by the whole nation. This is very helpful to us.

Along with domestic public opinion, we must also talk about international feedback. A ruthless struggle is being waged in Western markets where we get a quick evaluation of our products. High quality, valuable products are acknowledged with repeated and increasingly large orders. Indicators of bad work also come back to us: goods are rejected and orders dry up. Trade union work must help to make sure that everyone is made aware of these signals from the international arena.

Of course, our trade union work cannot be reduced to merely forwarding information regarding work performance. We consider trade union-organized work competition extremely important. We must discuss this because occasional unfavorable experiences in the organization of socialist work competitions and the futility of formal "competitions" bogged down in a bureaucratic morass have caused many people to consider the whole movement with great reservations. We are for their renewal because we consider them to be an important factor in our progress. The question is how to renew the competition movement in a way that could bring in fresh energies and resources in the interests of better work. We are still looking for an answer but our intention is not to start work competitions unless a more or less satisfactory answer, acceptable to the participants, can be given.

The key issue of the competition movement is the precise formulation of goals. This may be composed of two factors: adjustment to economic policy goals and consideration of local, concrete conditions. Unfortunately, we have not followed changing conditions closely enough in the organizational work for competitions in the last five years. This applies both to economic policy goals and adaptation

to local conditions. Today, it is necessary to consider four important factors in the formulation of competition goals. First: quality of products, not just in production but also harvesting, processing and packing. Second: we must not abandon quantitative goals because we need increasing quantities of high quality products. Third: a great deal of attention must be paid to cost management because the cost of producing goods is of decisive importance and the volume of cost must be justified by the results. Fourth: the competition movement must also help in the implementation and strengthening of material incentives governed by performance. Trade union work has an important role to play in all of these areas.

[Question] What organizational and conceptual changes are helpful in solving these tasks? How did trade union work react to the changing conditions?

[F. Dobi] The most important one is the change in the role of shop stewards and the creation of the assemblies of shop stewards, but these changes are not restricted to our sector. They encompassed the entire trade union movement and are therefore quite well-known. On the other hand, I would like to mention a trade union change which represents something new specifically for our sector. This was the first congress of our trade union where the list of delegates included representatives elected by 1,338 basic organizations in 633 cooperative farms to speak for employees of cooperative farms. This means that the group of employees whose interests are represented by us has expanded significantly.

In our organizational work, changing conditions present us with the task of achieving a fundamental turning point in our plant work. This is because trade union activists working on the plant level are the ones who face the most important tasks. For this reason, the apparatus must pay more attention and invest more time and energy in expert assistance on the spot. Fewer resolutions should be made and more talk and convincing propaganda are needed.

With regard to the conceptual goals of our work, we are building on the results we have achieved. As the congress has stated, these are substantial. It is just as important to survey the deficiencies which force us to improve our work. I would like to mention a few of these. First of all: we have not succeeded in introducing material recognition proportional to performance. Wage development is unfortunately still more closely related to job category than to technical competence and real work performance.

Our congress was correct in stating that the workers in our sectors have made satisfactory progress in improving their living standards in recent years. Nevertheless (except for the water management sector) there exists a lag in average wages which must be brought up by our trade union. Workers of state farms receive average wages 5 percent lower than those of industrial workers. The wages of forestry workers are 8 percent below the wage level of similar branches of industry. Therefore, our trade union must fight for a resolution of this issue.

The housing shortage also affects workers in our sectors. Our primary goal is to eliminate the old housing built for farm labourers. There has been substantial progress in this area but it is still insufficient, although a good number of cooperative farms and state farms organized housing construction programs and

various forms of assistance to private housing construction. We are encouraging economic managers to concentrate help on those with a difficult social situation who are also burdened by the necessity to waste their strength, time and money on day-to-day commuting to work.

[Question] Could you say a few words about the kinds of tasks set by the congress of your trade union to improve working methods?

[F. Dobi] Our work has always had some reserves in this area. All trade union activists but especially us, workers in the apparatus, must take a stand against the bureaucratic methods still existing in our work. But not by declaring a grand-sounding fight against them, adopting a resolution on the tasks we face, then work out the details on every level. I think this would be a caricature of the struggle against bureaucracy. The greater need is for showing a good example by better and more precise organization of our own work. We must strengthen the living social character of the trade union movement. Our aim is to avoid asking for written reports unless they are truly indispensable. When we are assigned a task by SZOT [National Council of Trade Unions] we should not just pass it on without thought and adaptation because the only thing this would achieve is an unstoppable chain reaction of passing on the task. Some of these tasks require solution by the central trade union authority and not being passed on down the line. This is one way in which we are trying to protect workers at the plant level from unnecessary, time-consuming formal activities.

In other concrete areas we must also look for the methods that can lead to better results at a smaller cost. In the congressional debate it has been brought up on several occasions that better organization of working conditions depends on the quality of the managers' work. We should not think that trade union work is an exception to this rule.

[Question] Congressional delegates often criticized bureaucratic work methods used in the innovation movement.

[F. Dobi] These speeches were quite correct. It is very important for the innovation movement to start working on its own renewal in the first place. At present, the bureaucracy is preventing the acceptance and introduction of innovations, discourages innovators, slows and paralyzes initiative. A key issue of the coming years is to recognize opportunities at an early stage: when, where and how to innovate. The evaluation and recognition structure of achievements must be changed in order to develop the innovation movement. This must be done in a way that gives a greater voice to the public in the evaluation of innovation. Trade union organizations can do a great deal toward this end.

[Question] From the standpoint of the entire field of trade union work, the choice of local leadership and the quality of workers' representation are highly important.

[F. Dobi] The experience of the elections justified the earlier decision regarding the increased role of shop stewards. The shop steward was not elected to sell stamps but to be a true representative of his fellow workers. In our opinion the quality of newly elected shop stewards is substantially better than in the past. Of course, this merely provides the potential for successful work; a great deal

needs to be done to make sure that this potential is realized. To improve the content and methods of trade union work, we need to concentrate on the preparation of shop stewards for performing their functions. This is all the more important because the external conditions of their work are not always up to the improved opportunities open to trade unions. The decentralization of trade union work has not yet been followed by a similar degree of state decentralization. As a result, the arrangement of discussions between appropriate state and trade union organizations requires particular attention and patience in the initial period.

This patience is shown by both the economic leadership and trade union officials toward each other. The economic leadership knows that good shop stewards mean a great deal of support for them: they help by sharing in the responsibilities of decisionmaking, signaling problems, forwarding proposals by their fellow workers, assist in the fulfillment of economic and production tasks, consistently defending the social and labor law interests of the workers and fighting for redress of their grievances.

This is the most important task facing each trade union activist; this is how they can do their utmost to ensure that working masses consider the trade unions as their own and that trade union activities may make a successful contribution to the difficult work of socialist construction in the coming five years.

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## HUNGARY

### DEPUTY MINISTER INTERVIEWED ON FUNCTIONS OF MINISTRY OF CULTURE

Budapest NEPMUVELES in Hungarian No 10, 1980 pp 3-5

[Interview with Maria Hanga, deputy minister of culture by Bela Kajdi: "The New Ministry and Its Tasks"]

[Text] We have followed and are still following with much interest the establishment of the new Ministry of Culture. This is understandable as--according to many observers--the history of our cultural affairs has never witnessed a ministry organized in such a complex way and functioning on the basis of such uniform principles. You have been a practicing teacher, a youth leader, as well as a deputy minister in the ministry of education, and now you are again a deputy minister. As such, you must know from experience the needs, the demands, the changes, and the causes of the changes both from the outside and from the inside. Our readers have probably already learned about the main goals and structural organization of the new ministry from resolution No 1028/1980 (July 23) of the council of ministers, as portrayed in the daily newspapers and in the MUVELODESI KOZLONY [Cultural Gazette]. At this time we would like to be informed about these developments primarily from the vantage point of public culture, so that the cultural workers will be able to implement to the fullest degree these uniform principles and these complexities in their everyday activities.

[Answer] In line with the demands of the age and social progress, the Ministry of Culture aspires to direct the whole area of culture fully and in a complex manner. We hold the strings to all affairs concerning primary, secondary and higher education, general as well as specialized education and continued education, adult education as well as leadership training, public culture as well as the guidance in art, scholarly research, concerning teaching and cultural activities, as well as international and national minority education and culture. Our functions include such specialized goals as the elaboration and the control of the price system in the area of culture, and the centralized guidance of the educational and cultural activities of the local councils. The unity of the principle of guidance requires that these strings should run together, and that they should interlace one another. In this manner the three main areas under my authority--public education, specialist training and public culture--will also draw closer together.

[Question] It is rather evident that the intention is to integrate public education and public culture. The question is how?

[Answer] It is most important to have a harmonious and meaningful cooperation between public education and public culture. We regard it desirable to have multi-functional institutions. We have made this known several times. Our aim is to achieve both partial and complete integration. The former means the administrative unification of the existing institutions, but in such a way that will permit the unit to retain their professional autonomy. The latter refers to a new institutional model, the development of a complex cultural and sports institute. In case of the former, complexity should be achieved gradually, step by step; while in case of the latter, the activities and goals concerning content, economy, structure and administration should be confined to a single unit from the very start. As of now we are aware of seventy initiatives, with four-fifths of them moving toward partial integration. In Heves and in Hajdu-Bihar County plans have been drawn up for the development of complex institutions. These initiatives in the region of Nagykovacsi, the suburbs of Pecs and Siklos, and Debrecen-Ujkert, are well known both from the press reports and from the experiment-descriptions by the Institute of Public Culture. Only recently, both the TV and the NEPSZAVA [People's Voice] have contained reports about Nagykovacsi, where, through the utilization of an ingenious hoisting apparatus, the school became also a cultural center with enviable speed. Such local initiatives, such ingenious reactions that result in these kinds of actions demonstrate conclusively that our drive toward integration is in the forefront of public attention and social approval. Moreover, this goal is also supported by economic, educational and cultural considerations.

But the drive toward cooperation must also be enhanced in the areas where the institutional forms for this are still missing. There is a much greater need for the integration in the schools for activities that are outside the regular study periods. This is especially important in the trade schools that are replenishing our working class, and in particular in the area of art education, and perhaps most of all in music education and in singing. We are bound to this goal not only by our traditions, but also by pedagogical values inherent in common singing and in the unifying force of music itself. But all of these have practical implications.

[Question] The realization of these uniform principles of cultural policy points beyond the traditional areas of culture. A new situation has developed: Today we are witnessing a more complete division of labor. Moreover, multi-sectorism--which previously characterized mostly only the cultural activities and the institutions of the local councils and of various social and mass organizations--has now been expanded through the inclusion of similar functions and obligations by economic organs. Given this new situation, what is the role of the ministry of culture, and what specific functions does it have?

[Answer] Admittedly a new social situation did come into being, and this has already been defined by the 1974 resolution of the central committee of the MSZMP, by the educational law, as well as by the 12th Party Congress. They have outlined the agenda for the future. The most significant obligation for the next few years is the elaboration and shaping of a uniform view toward culture and cultural policy, and the dissemination of this view throughout society. One of the important components of this goal is that which we have already discussed: that cultural activities (i.e., education, public culture, scientific and artistic life) should increasingly be built on one another. Increasing the effectiveness of state control is a requirement of our age. Yet, at the same time, we should not forget multisectorism; i.e., the autonomy of the various

cultural, educational and training activities sponsored by the local councils, labor unions, cooperatives, as well as by the KISZ, the Young Pioneers' League and the People's Front. This goal is being served, among others, by the directives that have already been finished in the first draft, and that will be published (in cooperation with the OKT [National Council of Public Culture]), the ministers, and the mass organizations, and in conjunction with the companies' and cooperatives' cultural plans for the sixth Five-Year Plan.

[Question] What changes characterize the guiding activities of the new ministry?

[Answer] We are widening the basis of this guidance, relying increasingly on cultural and specialized advisory councils. In our effort to widen the democratization of the guidance of public culture, we are utilizing the expertise of such organizations as the Association of Hungarian Cultural Educators, the National Youth Club Council, the various amateur art councils, the latter's regional organizations, the National Council of Cultural Centers, as well as the social leadership of these cultural centers. We have to learn to live with opportunities that these organizations offer to us. It is our distinct desire to increase the autonomy of these institutions, freeing them from the superfluous limitations.

[Question] What help does the Ministry of Culture extend to the local councils, to the other ministries, and to the economic organs?

[Answer] We would like to offer them much more than before. In conjunction with the local councils we are continuing to strive toward theoretical leadership, but we also wish to influence their planning. This was our reason for working out the directives for the Sixth Five Year Plan, and sending it to them at the end of the summer. We are helping them in the continued development of technical supervision and through better information. As to the other ministries? We are forced to be critical and recognize that extending help and directives to them is perhaps the weakest part of our guidance work. We intend to correct this shortcoming, for we intend to give them methodological help through our institutions. As I have already mentioned, we are publishing directives for the companies and the cooperatives. We would like to bring the other ministries more into the affairs of cultural life, and thus put an end to their isolation. This can be enhanced through their participation in continued education programs and through an exchange of ideas. We are obliged to spread and to strengthen a uniform view on public culture under more difficult conditions. This has to be done first of all through the examination of the mutual interaction between public culture and national economy.

[Question] In what way will you strengthen the cooperation with the social and mass organizations?

[Answer] The characteristic of public culture as a movement implies multisectorism. Only in unity can we achieve results. This cooperation still holds many new possibilities. In connection with the labor unions, we can move forward by creating a harmony between the culture at the work place and culture in the home. In this manner the institutional base of public culture will increase and strengthen, and so will personal enrichment, and the number of those subject to enculturation. Our most important goal is the widest possible involvement of the youth and our



most worthy allies toward this goal are the KISZ and the Young Pioneers' Movement. The Patriotic People's Front can also further public culture through various related movements. We can improve the circumstances of the enculturation of the workers of cooperatives, as well as the administration of their involvement in public culture in cooperation with the National Council of Producers' Cooperatives and with the help of various other cooperative organs.

[Question] What role do the Ministry's central institutions have in the policy of guidance?

[Answer] We are mobilizing the National Pedagogical Institute, the National Educational Center, the Career Choice Institute, the Institute of Public Culture, the newly established Institute of Cultural Research, as well as all other institutes attached to the Ministry toward our primary goals, and we urge them that they should pay an increasing attention to practical matters, i.e., to be of help to the various institutions and local councils. In cooperation with the Institute for Cultural Research, the Institute of Public Culture will continue to devote attention to the creation and development of the theoretical foundations of culture. In the course of our reorganization we are striving toward the elimination of the superfluous duplications. At the same time, however, we deem it essential to strengthen the cooperation among the various institutes.

[Question] In what way does the new Ministry's structural organization serve and ensure all of these goals? Doesn't the leadership become fragmented in light of the six jurisdictional regions, twenty chief or independent sections, and over fifty sub-sections?

[Answer] Structural is organization geared to the goals, which are unity and complexity. I believe that the organizational base of these goals have been realized. Of course, I cannot engage in prophesying. The guidance of public culture is the obligation of the whole ministry, and not only one, or even of two or three chief sections. For this very reason we have to strengthen the cooperation with the Chief section of Public Collections. After all, libraries and museums are very important base institutions of public culture. I can similarly allude to the significance of our cooperation with the chief section on art, as well as to our common interests with the chief section on planning and economy, the chief section on colleges and universities, and the various so-called functional chief sections. In the realization of the desired unity the chief sections on cultural policy can have (and in fact already has) a key role. It labors simultaneously on working out the educational and cultural policies, although naturally it draws also on the expertise of the specialized chief sections.

The ministry's current organizations reflects well its chief goals. But the current structure is not necessarily a final one. After some additional experiences we will return to this question, and will develop it further. Thus, the published organizational description is only temporary.

[Question] In speaking about the theoretical, methodological and formal questions concerning the principle of leadership, we have often touched upon the still-to-be-attained goals of public culture. What are the most important goals?



[Answer] The most important one is the thorough preparation of the Sixth Five Year Plan. We have defined the goals of this period according to uniform principles. Yet, we did so sensitively, and in line with the spirit of the relevant party and state documents. The directives were prepared by our chief sections on public collections and public culture, in cooperation with the central institutes, and by taking into consideration also the work performed during the fifth Five Year Plan.

In the course of the next planning period, the conditions of public culture will probably improve only very modestly, and as such we will have to work simply to retain existing conditions. We can ensure progress only through possibilities afforded to us by the discovering of new reserves, by cooperation, by the elimination of duplications, by better organizations, by the pulling of our material and intellectual resources, and by common efforts. Our main goal is to stabilize past achievements, so that we should be able to move forward in strengthening the socialist content and communal characteristic of public culture, in the raising of its quality level, and in increasing the number of those who share in this culture. Our fundamental obligations are to get the youth involved, to extend material and moral support to the amateur movements, to strengthen the information-dispersing activities of institutions, to strengthen likewise their activities that spread and shape civilizational and social know-how, especially as these relate to everyday life, and to provide high-quality recreation. The preconditions for these goals include the openness of the content, form and methods of public culture, the raising of its technical quality level, and the strengthening of the democratization of its leadership.

[Question] What do these really mean in essence?

[Answer] Openness in the case of cultural centers means that they should be sensitive to all of the needs of society. That is, instead of offering only organized programs, they should strive to create a continuous communal life. It is especially important to analyze interest relationships and the motivations behind these relationships from the point of view of various social strata and social groups, and to take this into consideration both during planning and during application. The principle openness manifests itself also in the search for common maintenance, for common functioning and for various other possibilities of cooperation. I have already spoken of the democratization of leadership. The raising of the technical quality level is a multidirectional task. First of all it requires that we should be able to select and to support with sufficient critical acumen all cultural, scientific and artistic values and activities, including also folk culture and the folk arts. Looking at this from the institutional point of view, we have to strengthen the technical and the methodological activities of the cultural centers in the counties as well as in the capital, and improve the effective dissemination of desirable forms, and methods. From this point of view it is desirable to establish experimental institutions. The employment of well-trained specialists and a further increase in the social prestige of cultural workers are also key questions in the effective spreading of public culture. The press also has a significant and multifaceted role in the achievement of these goals.

[Question] What role does the Ministry of Culture allocate to the institutions of the local councils?

[Answer] Their very number gives to them a determining role. We would like them to become forces of attraction. This is especially true for the county cultural centers, who have an obligation to supply the cultural needs of small settlements and of the peripheral regions.

[Question] What are your expectations from the cultural workers?

[Answer] We expect them to display the same unitary and unifying view of culture that we too are fighting for. We expect the cultural workers to concentrate their energies on the solution of main problems. They should not fragment their strength, nor should they lose themselves in details. We want them to work in a creative way. They should be driven by the cravings of an artist, and they should search for solutions within the given possibilities. These are not easy requirements, but they are essential.

We are also expecting something similar from the new Ministry of Culture. And we wish you and all of your co-workers much success in your efforts.

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## ROMANIA

### CONCEPTS OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE, DETENTE EXAMINED

Bucharest VIITORUL SOCIAL in Romanian No 3, Jul-Sep 80 pp 461-468

[Article by Corneliu Bogdan: "Coexistence and Detente"]

[Text] The worsening of affairs that has occurred in international relations recently once again has shown the fragility of the process of detente and has once again brought into discussion the content itself of the policy of detente and peaceful coexistence.

One of the principal causes of the fragility of the process of detente was that the notion itself of detente and its linkage with the more encompassing concept of peaceful coexistence were the objects of certain heated controversies.

Numerous Western politicians and researchers are even speaking of the need to redefine the "rules of the game" for peaceful coexistence and detente.

That is why a discussion of these concepts is, in our opinion, of special current interest.

#### I

The viability of any political concept depends upon its ability to offer adequate answers to the objective processes of society and to keep pace with the realities of a rapidly changing world.

From this point of view, it is clear that peaceful coexistence, as a means of peacefully developing relations between the socialist and capitalist countries, responds to a durable reality of our times, which is, the existence for an undetermined period of time of certain countries having different social systems, on one hand, and the interest of all nations in preventing the ideological antagonisms created by this situation from turning into conflict, on the other hand. From this point of view, despite the many difficulties and regressions there has been continuing progress in this concept since its proclamation by the first socialist country.

Since the defeat of the first foreign intervention against the young Soviet Republic, there has not been a single war between the socialist and capitalist countries that has been provoked principally by ideological differences.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union was allied with the two principal Western powers in order to defeat the attempt of Hitlerist Germany to attain world domination.

The principles of peaceful coexistence, beginning with their establishment in the Charter of the United Nations, were adopted as an essential constitutional part of international law.

Currently, detente is appearing as a new step forward on the path of affirming peaceful coexistence. As a result, detente can be considered as being the current stage of peaceful coexistence and, for the purpose of this article, we feel that the two terms are interchangeable.

## II

Normally, detente is defined, in contrast with the cold war, as a transition from the "era of confrontation" to the "era of negotiation."

In this regard, a more correct description would be a transition from a period when peaceful coexistence was only a rational and desired alternative to a period when it is recognized as an objective necessity.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, "beginning with the reality of the existence in today's world of socialist countries, developing nations and capitalist countries, the policy of peaceful coexistence constitutes an objective necessity which calls for the broad extension of cooperation and understanding between all states, regardless of their social order."

The beginnings of detente were marked by certain positive developments: the normalization of relations between nearly all countries, an continuing extension of trade and contacts between them, the resolution of certain difficult problems of a bilateral or multilateral nature and a general tendency to move away from the rigidity and hostility of the cold war and to advance towards a democratization of international affairs.

Despite all this, the beginning of detente has proven, to the present, to be powerless to prevent the sharpening of international contradictions and the aggravation of certain old conflicts and the appearance of new ones and new attempts to use force, especially armed forces.

What is the cause of such a negative evolution, especially at a time when, as the beginnings of detente proved, the political and social forces that are promoting international peace and understanding have the real opportunities to prevail in world politics?

A large part of the answer to this question, in our opinion, is in the fact that political thought and practice are still not keeping pace with the rapidly changing reality.



The general principled understanding, according to which there was no other alternative to peaceful coexistence, was not completed from the point of view of enriching this concept, keeping in mind the current realities.

Certainly, this situation reflects the very precise interests of the old politics based upon the domination of force in international affairs.

On the other hand, considering the general interest and, supposedly, the priority interest of human survival, this unwise adaption could be attributed, especially with regards to certain important sources of public opinion, to the existence of certain misunderstandings or certain erroneous concepts.

### III

It could be said that detente began with the recognition of a reality: the strategic parity of the two principal nuclear powers. The arms race had reached a stage, President Nixon noted in Moscow in 1972, where there was no other alternative for the two nuclear powers but "peaceful coexistence, since in a nuclear war there is no winner, only losers."

If this recognition is essential and contributed to a significant relaxation of international tensions, it is not, however, sufficient to ensure the durability of coexistence and detente under the conditions of the contemporary world.

If we limit peaceful coexistence solely to avoiding a nuclear war, there is danger of gradually destroying the content of the entire concept.

Actually, the logic of such an approach leads to presenting the balance of forces and, later, strategic parity as the principal guarantee for peaceful coexistence and, finally, to limiting detente or peaceful coexistence only to relations between the USSR and the United States.

The former supreme commander of NATO, Andrew J. Goodpaster, very clearly presented such an understanding when he wrote: "The restrictions upon detente rapidly diminish to the degree in which we get away from the special nuclear relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and move towards the problems of NATO, the Middle East and Southeast Africa. We see detente as a product of the game between the great powers and, at the same time, as a source of the strategy that guides at least a part of this game."<sup>1</sup>

One of his colleagues from the U.S. Army War College, Dr Anthony Wermuth, is even more explicit: "Detente is an official bilateral policy between the two superpowers, (other nations influence it or are influenced by it), but they are not a part of it."<sup>2</sup>

Here we are back to the policy of force, with the sole difference being that if we are lucky enough we can avoid a nuclear war.

The limits imposed upon the concept of detente have in practice the final result of denying the essence itself of peaceful coexistence and not diminishing but increasing the dangers of war.

On the contrary, peaceful coexistence could be consolidated if consideration were given not only to moves in the world military balance and in the development of strategic weapons, but also to the general impact of the worldwide revolutionary changes that are taking pace in the entire world. We are mainly speaking of two major components in a close mutual relationship to this revolutionary process.

First of all -- a direct result of the scientific and technical revolution, the continually accentuating international interdependence.

In a world of interdependence, no nation can isolate itself from world cooperation without causing serious damage to its own social and economic development.

As a result, peaceful coexistence should be conceived not only as the absence of war, but also as an active process that involves the full participation, on the basis of mutual respect and advantage, of all countries in international trade and the international division of labor, within the framework of which each nation has something to offer and receive. Peaceful coexistence must be conceived as a dynamic cooperation between all countries for the solution of the great common problems facing all of mankind.

The second component of the worldwide revolutionary process, which is basic for the future of detente and peaceful coexistence, is tied to the profound and rapid social changes which have brought about a rapid movement in the balance of forces towards peace, international understanding and social progress.

In world politics, this change is expressed, first of all, through the powerful affirmation of the will of all the people to put an end to the policies of dictate and domination and the policy of spheres of influence, and to become complete masters of their own destinies.

There is a dialectical relationship between these two objective phenomena, interdependence and national affirmation, a relationship which affects the entire evolution of international politics.

The most important thing for the future of world peace is avoiding any evolution that could lead to the sharpening of contradictions between interdependence and independence and, as a result, the appearance of certain serious conflicts between countries. This requires an organization of international interdependence that can contribute to the gradual elimination of inequality between nations and to the creation of an international environment that will allow each nation to fully express its personality and identity.

This linkage, interdependence and national self-affirmation, has a double impact upon peaceful coexistence.

First of all, in order to be effective it must be extended to the relations between all nations without any exceptions, regardless of their social system, size, level of development, military or economic power, whether they belong to a military alliance or not, and so forth.

The principles of equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage and the denunciation of force constitute the essence itself of peaceful coexistence and they must be profoundly rooted in and spread throughout all the areas of world politics.

One can add that the future of peaceful coexistence will depend upon the fate of the national state and, conversely, as long as the national state remains the fundamental unit of the international system the principles of peaceful coexistence will maintain their viability as key factors in the smooth operation of the system.

Second, peaceful coexistence cannot, if we are talking about being effective, be broken away from the great international problems whose solutions represent the key to gradually reducing international inequalities. It is clear that there can be no authentic and durable peaceful coexistence as long as confront each other armed to the teeth.

It is certainly understood that a balance based upon military force cannot be eliminated over night from world politics. It is also true that the goal of peaceful coexistence cannot and must not be the unilateral overturning of this balance. But, the balance of power, as a permanent and main prop in world politics and peace, is a denial of the essence itself of peaceful coexistence. For that reason, a continuing balanced reduction of armaments that can lead to a general disarmament must constitute an integral part of an all-encompassing policy of peaceful coexistence.

As an American military expert noted: "The forms of economic, cultural, scientific, technological and humanitarian recompense are those that will make a significant detente... Nonetheless, at a given moment the ultimate symbols of detente - military power - must also make their contribution through their own disappearance... If in the end detente does not help in answering this problem better than we could without detente, then it will represent an idea whose only defect is that it was never tried."<sup>3</sup>

The same considerations also apply to the problem of development. The persistence and furthering of the gap between the developed countries and the developing nations constitutes a major source which, in certain circumstances, could become the principal source of international tensions.

For that reason, not only international equality and morality and the interests of economic stability and world progress, but also the real concerns for international security require the achievement of a more equitable economic order as a principal component of an effective policy of peaceful coexistence.

#### IV

An encompassing philosophy of coexistence in the sense described above will also provide the most effective answer to what is today called the human dimension of detente, that is, the manner in which the progress of detente and peaceful coexistence effects the life, rights and freedoms of people. It is clear that such problems can be resolved only by each nation.

The sole and most constructive contribution that the international community can make is to provide the best conditions possible for the national affirmation of all peoples. For this reason, a peaceful coexistence that concentrates on the consolidation of national independence, relieving the people from the burden of arms build-ups and poverty and stimulating an active exchange of goods and cultures, constitutes the best possible condition for ensuring the progress and well-being of each nation.

"In today's world," points out the Italian communist leader Sergio Segre, "coexistence and cooperation are becoming even more premises for any type of effective social progress and a prior condition in order to adequately meet the dramatic problems of contemporary society."<sup>4</sup>

As we have already mentioned, peaceful coexistence was conceived as a concept for the peaceful and constructive cooperation of the capitalist and socialist countries. This remains, certainly, a major concern for the present and the future alike, just as the contradiction between socialism and capitalism remains the major contradiction of our times.

But, international affairs are much more complex and they cannot be reduced to a single contradiction. Even if it is major, the contradiction between socialism and capitalism, alone, cannot explain all the complications of world politics and does not constitute always the predominant factor. There are many other contradictions between nations that stem from differences of size, level of development, historical evolution and cultural traditions. Although they are interwoven with ideological and class conflicts, these contradictions have a distinct origin and their own dynamics, and, as experience has demonstrated, have continued to work even after the victory of the socialist revolution or the struggle for national liberation.

If the theory and practice of peaceful coexistence are to make new progress, they must take into consideration this complex character of the most dynamic era in the history of mankind. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "The complex international problems concern not only the socialist and capitalist



countries, but also the developing nations which constitute, in fact, the vast majority of the countries and which have an important role in the evolution of international affairs as well as in the development of the process of detente and the solution of all the complex questions in a democratic manner. The consolidation of the process of detente requires the active participation of all countries in international affairs under conditions of full equality and the solution of the complex problems facing mankind, including those related to underdevelopment, without whose solution it is difficult to speak of stability, true detente and peace."<sup>5</sup>

## V

In the context of such a philosophy for coexistence, the much discussed problem of the relation between peaceful coexistence and ideological contradictions can be placed, in our opinion, in a more realistic perspective.

For a beginning, here is only a single reference to the relationship between coexistence and the international contradictions, in general.

We feel that any philosophy or policy of peaceful coexistence cannot and must not fix as its purpose the abolition or halting of any kind of contradiction, for the simple reason that such an action is not possible. Contradictions cannot disappear since they are an objective phenomena and there is no development without contradictions.

Peaceful coexistence cannot be conceived as an idyllic state. The only thing that peaceful coexistence can and must do is to offer a basis for a policy for avoiding the sharpening of contradictions and their degenerating into crises and military confrontations, and a policy of controlling contradictions in the interest of peace, cooperation and the progress of mankind. In other words, peaceful coexistence must be conceived as a "management of contradictions" that will replace the "management of crises" that is practiced today with more and more damaging consequences in some capitals.

Certainly, ideological contradictions are no exception. They were not invented by communists or socialists, and they cannot be cancelled by them as they please. At the same time, we believe that not just the communists are the ones who are not ready to give up the ideological struggle. At the Helsinki Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Bruno Kreisky, chancellor of Austria, said: "Thus, we are ready for a confrontation and the reason why we salute the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is that the principles upon which it is based will permit such a worldwide confrontation through peaceful means. This is, in any case, the way I interpret the passage in the Declaration of Principles referring to the right of each participating country to select and develop its own political, social, economic and cultural system."<sup>6</sup> At the same time, each society, and not only the socialist ones, is trying to promote its own values on a worldwide scale. "In a world of stormy and rapid changes, the main purpose of our foreign policy is to do what we can to help create an international environment where the values we consider the essence of our society, when we are sincere with ourselves, can endure and make progress in achievements."<sup>7</sup>

A certain intensity in the ideological struggle must also appear as an inevitable consequence of the sharpening of social and political contradictions in many countries as a result of the profoundly revolutionary changes that are taking place everywhere in the world. The situation is complicated by the fact that in our small and interdependent world domestic policy is interwoven with foreign policy and that each major domestic problem also has a foreign dimension and vice versa. "The essential attribute of this phase," writes Pierre Hainner, "is neither force nor cooperation, but rather the constant influence of societies one upon the other within the framework of a competition whose purposes are less and less tangible, whose means are less and less direct and whose consequences are ever less calculable. They involve more immediate activities than strategies and these activities influence what the societies are just as much they influence what these societies do."<sup>8</sup>

Under these circumstances, it would probably be unrealistic for us to expect an "erosion" of ideology, as Stanley Hoffman figures.<sup>9</sup> But, it is not only possible but also imperative to reduce the impact of ideological contradictions upon interstate relations.

The crucial element in this regard is, once again, respect for the personality and identity of each nation. There are many problems that have both an international and domestic component and where the real boundary between the two cannot but be the result of negotiations based upon equal rights and mutual respect.

During a period when ideological contradictions and the advance of national affirmation are accentuating the processes of diversification between nations and are creating new differences between nations and societies, the process of negotiations must be extended and accelerated in order to develop new common standards for behavior, as required by modern interdependence.

There is no incompatibility between these two processes. Actually, they represent two aspects of worldwide historical development in which ideological, social and political confrontations have led to the continuing enrichment of the treasures of civilization and world culture, with each society and each social and economic order making its own contribution.

In this regard, the principal task is to intervene through appropriate actions so that the historical process can occur without creating conflictual situations between states and peoples. This task could be facilitated to a great degree if the political negotiations could be separated from the predominantly ideological discussions. Some of the problems of an ideological nature, for example the development of a new philosophy on humanism, could be given, first of all, to scientists, other experts who do not hold public office, members of parliament and so forth, as has been suggested many times by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

A criterion for achieving these desire would be for countries and political leaders to abstain from the deliberate exacerbation of ideological aspects as an instrument of political power.

As comrade Nicolae Ceausescu points out, "It must be understood well that the policy of detente presupposes respect for the independence of each people and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries and the right of people to win and consolidate their national independence and to achieve the revolutionary and social transformations that they want. No one can pretend to stop people from struggling for the acquisition of independence and for the revolutionary transformation of society. It is clear that there must be a firm rejection of any interference, in one form or another, but first of all through military means, with the purpose of blocking the national, economic and social liberation struggle of the people. At the same time, in accordance with Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles, social revolution cannot but be the fruit of the struggle of the popular masses, the political forces and each people. Similarly, it must be understood that there can not be allowed the exporting of counter-revolutions or the exporting of revolutions. Peaceful coexistence and detente precisely presuppose the direct respect for the right of each people to free and independent development, without any outside interference."

The implementation of this concept is key, in our opinion, in stopping tensions in international relations and resuming and consolidating the process of detente in the interest of the entire human community.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "National Security and Detente," forward by General Andrew J. Goodpaster, with contributions by faculty members of the U.S. Army College, New York, Apollo Editions, Thomas and Cromwell Company, 1976, p 273.
2. Ibidem.
3. John F. Scott, in "National Security and Detente," Vol Cit, p 333.
4. "Rinascita," numbers 11-35, 17 Mar 1978.
5. Nicolae Ceausescu, an interview given to the Argentinian newspaper CLARIN, in SCINTEIA, 29 Oct 1978.
6. Quoted from chancellor Bruno Kreisky's conversation at Chatham House, 4 Jul 78, "International Affairs," Oct 1978, Vol 54, No 4, p 618.
7. Marshall Shulman, "Toward A Western Philosophy of Coexistence," Foreign Affairs, Oct 1978, pp 49-50.
8. Pierre Hassner, "Europe - Old Conflicts, New Rules," ORBIS, Fall 1973, p 897.
9. Stanley Hoffman, "The Uses of American Power," "Foreign Affairs, October 1977.

## ROMANIA

### REPORT ON WORLD PSYCHOLOGY CONGRESS

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 22, 20 Nov 80 pp 51-52

[Article by Dr Pavel Muresan, "Stefan Gheorghiu" Academy: "Psychology and Society (From the 23rd World Psychology Congress)"]

[Text] Contemporary scientific progress is recording important moments in the development of social sciences, moments that summarize the long phases in the evolution of this progress and seek new directions for developing and applying in practice the results of specialized research. In this context, several tendencies are accentuated and become defining in nature: the opening towards a broad and efficient cooperation of scientists in research and the more rapid use in social practice of the results of the analyses and studies.

Under these points, the proceedings of the recent International Congress of Psychology were carried out, as organized by the Society of Psychologists in the FRG. At the congress, numerous scientists participated from Europe, America, Asia, Africa and Australia, a event that served as a broad exchange of ideas in the problem of a more profound implication of the results of psychology in social research. The discussions in such a scientific forum showed the need for a more active and responsible participation by all scientists in the solution of the great and grave problems currently facing mankind: the growth of the arms race, conflicts and tension, terrorism, violence, criminality and drugs, juvenile delinquency, mental underdevelopment and psychological illness and so forth. As a final conclusion, the discussions showed the need for scientists to apply and use the results of their research for the purpose of improving the quality of human life, ensuring the mental health of people, fighting for peace, understanding and cooperation, increasing human performance at work, accelerating the psychological development of young people and so forth.

Covering a broad and varied thematic area (symposia, thematic sessions, discussion sessions and conferences held by important persons in contemporary psychology), the congress presented the progress of psychology as a science and the most recent and complex results of research on the mind as a product of matter. Within the framework of the symposia and thematic sessions and in the diverse conferences and discussions, there were discussions on the themes and problems of applied psychology (industrial, educational, clinical and social psychology), current methodological and theoretical problems, new



directions and trends in psychological research, interpretation and understanding, and the future and current directions of the evolution of this branch of the social sciences. They showed the efficiency of applying certain results from the psychological investigations and analyses in the selection of personnel, discovery of creative people and scientific use of their creative potential in the better organization of production and work on the basis of certain psychological and ergonomic principles, educational and professional guidance for young people, design of school books and teaching-learning school activities, education of young people and so forth.

Within the framework of the discussions, the participants heard a series of trends, directions and orientations referring to the application of research and results of psychology in the analysis of relationships in society. Thus, it is worth noting the firm disapproval and rejection of false, anti-humanist interpretations given to certain results of psychological research regarding the psycho-social make-up of individuals, the so-called "differentiations" and "biological inequalities" between people. Such racist theories and orientations which are supposedly "confirmed" by the results of anthropometric research upon the intelligence of different human races did not find supporters within the ranks of the participants at the congress. On the contrary, the profoundly humanist orientation of the congress' proceedings and the profoundness with which such points of view were combated demonstrated once again the responsibility with which the scientists in this field are struggling to defend the vital interests of man, regardless of race, nationality, sex, age or political or religious affiliation. The discussions carried out on this theme showed that such Western psycho- and sociobiological points of view are the attributes of certain semi-specialists who are supported and financed by a series of right wing and racist groups. Numerous psychologists pointed out during the congress that the inequalities of biological and psychological development between people are the consequences of hunger, poverty and the underdevelopment to which hundreds of millions of people are unjustly condemned.

In this regard, the research presented by M. G. Husain and R. Jehan, from the University of Delhi, is not at all surprising. They proposed to demonstrate how economic conditions and the standard of living influence the intellectual abilities, intelligence and creativity of young people in environments having different living standards and levels of economic development. The results of this psychological research demonstrated the direct negative influence of economic conditions (the size and quality of living space, income, manner of living and so forth) and the lowered quality of life (lack of food, poor quality education, lower cultural levels and so forth) upon the level of mental development of young people and upon their intelligence, creativity and motivation for social behavior. The psychological inequalities between people are not of a biological nature, as the supporters of the elitist theories claim, but rather they have a specific economic-social cause: underdevelopment, hunger, illiteracy and so forth. Here you must look for the determining factors of social behavior, and not in phylogenetics and the genetics of populations, as the supporters of these points of view, which

history has repudiated, have tried to maintain, including the West German psychologist W. Wicikler. More than that, according to a series of researchers (F. Slavka - Czechoslovakia, A. Marek - Poland, T. C. Jordan - England and so forth), a poor diet has especially serious consequences upon the physical and mental development of children, expressed more than once in phenomena such as delayed mental development and physical and mental debilities.

We cannot but emphasize that, in addition to such an "appearance" of certain psychological theses influenced by elitist ideas in dealing with interhuman relations, during the discussions at the congress there were also some theses that were closely tied to the heated arms race. The results of the discussions on some of these reports were that in the world fabulous sums of money are allocated for psychological research for military purposes. Diverse modern devices for psychological testing and diagnoses, as well as improved methodologies for psycho-diagnosis and improved selection are frequently encountered not in schools, hospitals or enterprises, but in the army. And, for what reason? In order to better select people who kill more quickly or those who have ideas, are creative and invent new weapons and new variations of death. It is known that NATO organizes prestigious scientific sessions in the field of psychology regarding the perceptions and aptitudes of soldiers.

We cannot agree with the research presented during the congress by F. Mizouni (Tunisia) regarding the strategies of psychological training and selection of officers. The use of psychological research for military purposes is of the most anti-human nature in relation to all the other research since in this paradoxical case the research into the human mind is carried out with lucid cynicism in order to "program" man to murder his own fellow man. To this end, the most intelligent, creative, well-equipped and trained people are used.

At the same time, it is worth noting the special interest of the participants in the ideological implications of the different research in psychology. It seems a positive fact that many of the young researchers in the Western countries are directing themselves more and more towards researching the mechanisms in the creation and development of the human personality from a materialist-dialectic and historical point of view and towards researching and recognizing the special importance of the social context in the evolution of the personality and social relationships.

The reconstruction of the theoretical and methodological basis of Western psychological studies, beginning with the social-historical approach to the evolution of human beings in the context of a complex group of economic, social, cultural and political factors, is, thus, an ever clearer trend for the younger psychologists in the capitalist world.

In this regard, it is interesting to note the article-report presented by Theo Herrman from the University of Mannheim, "The Philosophy of Psychological Science in the FRG" (THE GERMAN JOURNAL OF PSYCHOLOGY, No 4/1978), in which the author, quoting numerous other specialists, says: "Traditional psychology ('bourgeois' psychology) can no longer progress because of its theoretical constructions, which are arbitrary." "Any progress in psychology," the author continues, "depends upon the scientific development of Marxism..."

This recognition on behalf of certain Western specialists of the role that Marxist theory has in the development of psychology serves to strengthen the opinions expressed during the congress that bourgeois psychology at the level of evolution attained today must take into account new aspects and be brought up to date. We thus note the crisis of structure and concept in the Western psychological theories which the mirage of transcultural psychobiology and sociobiology has brought to an impasse, requiring them to move towards a value and methodological reorientation. In which direction it will take them is hard to figure. This is especially so as the pretentious exponents of certain elitist theories more forcefully argue their "scientific" convictions and opinions.

A constant trend that characterized the content of the research presented and the discussions was the discovery of certain new means of increasing the applicability and efficiency of psychological research on social and technical relationships, and the attempts to tackle and give an answer to the most specific and practical problems of work, life and the aspirations of people. Thus, at the congress important considerations were expressed regarding the man-machine relationship as a socio-technical system that directly impacts upon labor productivity. Numerous other research papers centered on psychotherapy, mental hygiene, the prevention of mental diseases, the prevention of anti-social behavior, the socialization of children and their moral, cognitive and affective development.

During the congress, one could see a clear orientation of numerous psychological research papers towards the overall problem of social development and the awareness of the values and utilities of the psychological disciplines in dealing with and resolving certain worldwide problems of society, such as economic crises, conflicts, catastrophes, the appearance and manifestation of certain unforeseen events, pollution, stress and so forth. In this regard, it is worth noting the interest and special appreciation in the congress created by the recent Report of the Club of Rome regarding the role of social training in ensuring the harmony of social systems and in creating prospective behavior through anticipative and participative training for the purpose of quickly adapting to unforeseen situations and events. The congress also occasioned an impulse to and an accentuation of the orientation of researchers in psychology towards an interdisciplinary approach in the context of the appearance and the development of certain new fields and branches of psychology: ecological psychology, the psychology of the cosmos, the psychology

of space and architecture, group psychotherapy and so forth. The interdisciplinary nature of certain studies in the social sciences, also revealed at this meeting of psychologists, allows a series of psychological analyses and research papers of great value and applicability to be achieved within the framework of certain joint teams, through the participation, in addition to psychologists, of doctors, sociologists, engineers, computer specialists, economists, anthropologists, architects and so forth.

In coming with a broad thematic range of subjects, the Romanian delegation placed in discussion a series of studies on the social psychology and psychosociology of leadership, on psychological research in industrial labor, on the psychology of learning, on cybernetic psychology and so forth. The interest created among the ranks of the specialists regarding the Romanian research brought about an efficient exchange of information and experiences between the Romanian researchers and the other participants at the congress. Numerous specialists from different countries expressed their interest in knowing the results of the psychological research and the specialized publications in Romania. This interest, which is not just of a scientific nature, has in mind the intensification of the exchange of scientific publications in this field, more intense cooperation between specialists, and the broad dissemination of the results of psychological research.

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## AVAILABILITY OF FOOD, CONSUMER GOODS FOR WINTER DISCUSSED

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCRESTIUEUI in Romanian 12 Dec 80 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Gheorghe Preda, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Bucharest Municipality People's Council, by Petru Calapodescu]

[Excerpts] Preda: As we know, the people of Bucharest, just like the people in the rest of the country, are benefitting from the constant concern for the party and of its secretary general for providing an adequate supply of goods. For this purpose, the production capacities of the food industry and light industry enterprises in Bucharest and throughout the country have been developed; the sales network has been expanded and improved conditions for the commercialization of the commodities have been created, in accordance with the capacities of industry and agriculture and the real consumption needs of the population. In this context, the municipal party committee and the executive committee of the people's council established, on a timely basis, a broad and rigorous program of measures in regard to supplying the people during the cold weather, exerting consistent efforts to implement this program under the best possible conditions.

As a result--although, as we know, this agricultural year was not one of the best--it has been possible to store the necessary food products and agricultural food products for consumption in December and during the January-April period of 1981 in much larger quantities than was the case last year, quantities which will satisfy needs have been assured. I am referring, among other things, to oils, sugar, pasta, rice, flour, preserved vegetables and fruits, in a volume in accordance with rational consumption. The supplies specified in the program have been achieved or achievement is near completion for the majority of food products, including meat and meat products, milk and milk products. A few details are necessary in regard to the providing of supplies of potatoes, onions and other root vegetables. Let us not forget that during the fall, on the occasion of "Horticulture Month," the markets of the city received large quantities of these products so that many citizens could get supplies for the cold weather. Let me mention that this year's supply of potatoes is larger than last year's and at present, sales--250-300 tons a day--are greater than last year's. In regard to the supplies of onions, they must be apportioned thriftily until April so that the sales network will receive suitable quantities each day. We have adequate quantities of root vegetables, especially carrots and the apples will last until the spring fruits appear. Since some delays in deliveries by industry have been made up for, the stores will be receiving preserved fruits and vegetables on a regular basis. A supply of beans which will be sold during the coming period has also been achieved.

In regard to non-food products, let me stress that they are in sufficient supply and the supply of goods for the current "Months of Gifts" is eloquent proof. For some products, including the textile-footwear group, a supply larger than that of a similar period in 1979 has been assured.

We are justified in saying that the delivery schedules have material backing and that we have the necessary manpower and means of transportation for transporting the products. However, for a number of items the volume of sales is considerably higher than it was last year, much higher than would be normal considering the rise in the population. How can this be explained? It is known that the supply process depends not only on the volume of goods but also on the way in which the volume is handled. The tendency of some citizens to over-supply themselves and to purchase goods which are in excess of the real consumption needs of the family continues to manifest itself. Thus, artificial shortages are created in some stores and the supply mechanism does not operate properly. In order for this mechanism to be effective, citizens must purchase only what they absolutely need. They must understand that it is not possible to deliver more goods, at a more rapid pace than they are being produced. And they must not buy, as sometimes happens, according to the size of their own personal larders. Such practices affect the objective, everyday capabilities of the suppliers and the transportation and commercialization systems.

CSO: 2700

ARTISTS UNION OFFICIAL REPLIES TO ATTACK ON ART CRITICISM

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 30 Oct 80 p 19

[Article by Andrei Plesu]: "The Right to a Reply"]

[Text] Since an interview appeared in FLACARA which brings out a multitude of false information and malicious commentaries on art criticism today in Romania, please, in accordance with the right to a reply, publish the explanations below, not only since I am directly involved but also since I am secretary of the criticism section of the Union of Plastic Artists:

It occurs so rarely for problems of art criticism to be placed into public discussion that the initiative by FLACARA to reserve an entire page for these problems in its 16 October 1980 issue is more than encouraging. What also is notable is the vigilance with which Raoul Sorban looks after the moral state of the guild he is part of, at an age when others would rather weigh their own lives or hurry to put the finishing touches on their works. Yet, the information which he transmits to the readers throughout the copious interview signed by Mihai Pelin is able to throw a bizarre light on an area of modern Romanian culture which, without being spared internal tension, acute lacks and uncertainties, is striving to align its efforts honestly in the general aspiration for qualitative balance and social effectiveness. Out of respect for the public and the level reached today by almost all areas of humanist culture, we feel obligated to temper that pathos for discrediting which colors Professor Sorban's entire discussion. As he says, "The current situation is simply absurd." He speaks of a "lack of responsibility," of "illegal incomes," "cliques," "immorality," and so forth, as if, with two or three exceptions, the guild of art critics is a gathering of delinquents with no other concern than to steal from the till. Full of consideration for what was achieved in art and art criticism in the interwar period, Raoul Sorban has the air to state that in recent decades both areas have been drifting. It is a philosophy which has nothing to do with the benign smile which shows him in the magazine's photograph. And a philosophy which does not even have the excuse of a wise critical spirit. It dissembles merely a crepuscular bitterness, a chronic grudge, a typical symptom of a resenting consciousness.

I admit that I would not have hurried to write these lines if the magazine publishing the incriminating interview did not have the audience it does and if the text of the interview had not been so broad. For the majority of his guild colleagues, Raoul Sorban long has been a classified case. Nobody takes him serious anymore and only the innocence of a reporter foreign to the area can justify putting his name on the printed page "en vedette." Sorban made for himself a misleading university

air and practices a form of affability which can trip a person who has not been warned. Everything is imposture. Having retired, "Professor" Sorban never has been known for a notable professional undertaking. The "monographs" mentioned by the bibliographic inset in FLACARA either are summary forewards of the job (see the few pages on Frans Hals) or, in the best case, modest essays barely reaching 40 pages. All together they could be merely the record of a promising young man and in no way the balance of a prestigious scientific career which would give him the right to judge others. Regarding the work on "the Baia Mare school," with which he has mystified his colleagues (as well as himself) since we know him, it already is part of our wild's anecdotes. Not a single general book, not even a simple university manual has come from the pen of the presumptuous author. That is why we consider the boldness with which Sorban penalizes the "predominantly oral activity" of some of his colleagues as suicidal. What he can oppose in the "last director of the Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Art of Cluj" (that is how his biography in FLACARA writes) is not known and will not be known. The fact is that those critics whom Sorban, without naming them, rebukes for being unworthy, explaining that "they do not have to take action in a circle of initiates," all are infinitely more well-known by the public at large than he himself is, thus having become the ideal victim of his own fury. All those who cultivate the visual arts in Romania know Ion Frunzetti and Dan Haulica. Those who love them and those who detest them know them. In exchange, Raoul Sorban is truly closed in a "circle of initiates." The FLACARA interview, I feel, is the most spectacular entrance of his life in public.

It would be simple and, for the readers, amusing to make a strict analysis of Sorban's work, whatever there is of it. True, this would mean wasting our patience in a sterile operation. In any case we are ready to do it if the "professor" somehow would ask us to, devoid as he is of the instinct for conservation. For the time being, we have the text of the interview before us and it is sufficiently rich in monstrosities and poisonous statements that we are obligated to make some hygienic clarifications. This is easy for us to do because Raoul Sorban's polemic gusto did not have the precaution of regulating with necessary precision. His attack is a masterpiece of self-annihilation. And here is how. Toward the end of the interview, the person in question approaches the delicate matter of the national specific nature and radically protests those who do not give glory it deserves to Romanian values. Rightfully, Sorban refuses to accept that "we have lagged behind in the artistic area" and he unmasks "the attempts of some people continually to create inferiority complexes for the artists." The remainder of his interview falls under the incidence of this type of procedure. Today's art criticism is being penalized all over, with merely three names having remained outside the discussion: Virgil Mocanu, C. R. Constantinescu and Mircea Toca. But Sorban gets mixed up even with these three. He appears "bored by the customary criticism in the magazines," forgetting that he is praising precisely those, Virgil Mocanu and C. R. Constantinescu, who practice this constantly, having permanent columns (not boring at all) in ROMANIA LITERARA and CONTEMPORANUL, respectively. Regarding so many other critics of all ages who, within the limits of existing space, are carrying out an honest trade, Raoul Sorban has no knowledge. Mihai Driscu, Constantin Prut, Mihai Ispir, Andrei Cornea, Gheorghe Vida, Grigore Arbore, Marina Preutu (many of them, through administrative fatality, were even students), and then Radu Bogdan, Amelia Pavel, Vasile Dragut, Dan Grigorescu, Octavian Barbosa, Radu Ionescu, to say nothing of Ion Frunzetti and Dan Haulica, brutally removed from the game--all seem to the nearly anonymous Sorban heroes of a "bankrupt" collective. One of my books is sent to the zone of Steinerist theosophy with a premeditatingly slanderous ill-will and this is because I quote Rudolf Steiner once in the more than 200 pages. In the place under discussion I called him "a strange person from the start of our century" and I made use of him in order



to illustrate a variation of the post-romantic interpretation of symbols. Sorban, however, claims that I was taking him as an authority in matters of art and rhetorically he is surprised. Through a similar maneuver one could demonstrate that George Calinescu also considered this same Steiner as an authority at the aesthetic level since he mentioned him in the bibliography entitled "The Universe of Poetry." Raoul Sorban has only an accidental understanding of what Romania's contribution to art history and theory is: this is seen in the catalogue he makes of the editorial publications from MERIDIANE. All translations, Sorban says, except for a monography by Dumitru Dancu. But the "Library of Art" also printed Edgar Papu and Dan Grigorescu and Vasile Florea and Victor Ieronim Stoichita, all overlooked without hesitation.

After eliminating criticism, Raoul Sorban is concerned with what he himself called "to create inferiority complexes for the artists." He tries to dispute Ovidiu Maitec, to cancel out Bradut Covaliu and, in particular, to grossly ridicule the most important tapestry that our modern art produced in recent decades: the one entitled "The Theater." Several months ago, when a vulgar newsman, clearly ignorant and poorly raised on top of it, since he did not even sign his insult, decided to dispute the value given to this tapestry by the specialists, we did not retort, since you cannot argue with a pure hyposthesis of nothingness. Manly blows are given to your face and not behind the camouflage of initials (M. P.). But now, however, the insult is taken over by a "specialist." It begins absurdly with the sentence: "This tapestry could not have existed if Lurcat had not existed." Of course, Michelangelo would not have existed, either, if Fidias had not existed. "The Theater" tapestry, however, is not similar to Lurcat's tapestries except for the person who has not seen either. And if Raoul Sorban did see the work he scorns, it is even more serious. Since its quality was clear even for nonspecialists. It is good for the readers to know that "The Theater" tapestry was analyzed and evaluated as is proper by high representatives of our ideological forums during various phases of its birth. A work of this scope (150 square meters) could not be made clandestinely, without the material and moral aid of verified competencies. The workshop where it was woven is listed in the protocol of the Council on Socialist Culture and Education so that, year after year, the country's important guests were invited with legitimate national pride to view it. By chance I was present when Giulio Carlo Argan, the famous art history professor from Rome and then also Rome's mayor, passed before the giant work. His words, beyond what could pass as inevitable protocol, would have flattered any artist of the world: And they seem to be worth more than the reserve of our "professor." (Along another line of idea, we note that one of the three Romanian critics who praised "The Theater" tapestry in ARTA, thus contributing—as Sorban would say—to establishing it as a "false problem," is precisely the person to whom "the first rector of the Cluj Art Institute gave his credit in this unforgettable interview: Victor Ieronim Stoichita. Raoul Sorban painfully stumbles in his own traps, once more proving incurable attitudes of incoherence.)

We cannot discuss here his other statements point by point. Some are grandly wrong: the art critics breaking away from the Union of Plastic Artists or suspending this union's right to give prizes to its members. For Sorban these prizes are an irrepressible obsession which can be psychoanalyzed. He complains that they are not given rightfully. It is possible. Basically the Nobel prize, too, has its escapes. One thing is certain: If being given an award sometimes is a false recognition or an error of circumstances, to not ever have been placed in discussion for a prize in itself is not a guarantee of quality. "The professor" argues with us that we did not fight for Gheorghe Anghel at the time. But, shall we say, this was "the

war" of his generation. Dojana again returns to it as a boomerang, especially since Sorban did not write about him in the year of Anghel's death but about the "official" C. Baraschi. Continuing, "the professor" finds that Bradut Covaliu entered into the graces of criticism after he was elected president of the Union of Plastic Artists. This is false. Even before 1950, Ion Frunzetti noted him, while his first big success, produced by a very good exhibit, dates from 1956. On the other hand, is it not curious that Raoul Sorban questions Covaliu's merits only now, when he no longer is president? In a frugal resume look how he shows the profession of faith of someone who in every two lines speaks of "moral vigor," "intellectual responsibility," "scientific exactness." What weight his opinions can have and what criteria his election as an interlocutor could dictate in a big-circulating magazine like FLACARA remains to be established by the magazine's editors, along with the readers themselves.

With regard to us, at the end of our explanations, we feel touched by a spreading sadness. Thinking of the student years, we would have preferred to recall Raoul Sorban as a nice professor (because he knew how to be nice), not too learned (because he did not know much about books), able (because he held the secret of saving appearances with an inborn grace, for a second making you believe that he knew what you did not know and even knew what he himself did not know), in short, a picturesque personality, interesting through his biography as he could not be through his ideas, endowed up to abuse with regard to histrionics and devoid of ethic dimension up to unawareness. His little academic control had a certain fun of an operetta: It had all the marks of authority besides the authority itself, which gave all his behavior the aspect of an incorrigible, melancholic trick. That is how I would have preferred to remember him. But I do not know what belated awareness of unfulfillment, which spurred him to show to the world the face of a wronged redemption, got him. Probably it is very hard to be of a certain age and know that your "scientific" work is a tiny accumulation of brochures, your "didactic" works--a simple melodramatic pirouette and your "moral" works--a sullen "no," thrown out between the teeth of all those who are minding their own business all around you.

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## BRIEFS

'EXAMINATION OF CONSCIENCE' COLUMN--Beginning with the next issue of our view, we are inaugurating a new feature, a serial which proposes to demonstrate the awareness of the responsibility of students in regard to the years spent at the faculty and of the responsibility for the exemplary execution of their fundamental duty toward the country, toward the collective in which they live and learn, toward themselves--the obligation of working thoroughly, of behaving in accordance with their role as students and members of the revolutionary organization of university youth. The column proposes to combat retrograde attitudes, tendencies toward truancy and superficiality and to represent a warning for those of our colleagues who do not understand that the Alma Mater can only be a place for work, for authentic passion, for people with a vocation for creative effort, for patriotic self-sacrifice, for real men and women. Inviting you to participate in the "Examination of Conscience" which we are inaugurating in the next issue of the paper, we seek your participation with articles, ideas and attitudes. [Text] [Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 1 Oct 80 p 1]

DEATH OF WOOD INDUSTRY SPECIALIST---The scientific council and the leadership of the ICPIIL [Research and Design Institute for the Wood Industry] announce the death on 23 November of deputy scientific director Eng Niculae St Dumitrescu. A person of international prestige, Eng N. St Dumitrescu was a director in the Food and Agriculture Organization in Rome and a delegate from Romania to specialized international commissions. Over a period of 35 years he made a valuable contribution to the development of the wood industry sector and to scientific research and specialized education in Romania. [Excerpts] [Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Nov 80 p 4]

CSO: 2700

## PROFESSOR BILANDZIC QUERIED ON FEDERAL-REPUBLIC FRICTION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1556, 26 Oct 80 pp 8-11

[Interview with Zagreb University Professor of Political Sciences Dr. Dusan Bilandzic by Jut Grizelj, date and place not given]

[Text] Dr. Dusan Bilandzic, Professor of Political Sciences of Zagreb University and member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia speaks on how to live in unity in a democratic society in which consensus is a condition of society. Is it really more difficult today to live together, and to what extent are those people who see a crisis of the federation in the difficulties in arriving at consensus justified in their worries? Essentially, the disagreements are not of a nationalistic nature, nor are they republic in nature--this is the external form of another phenomenon. Were there more conflicts in the past, only we did not know about them? There are no greater squanderers than the politicians, for they do not know the price of their spending.

How to live together, Dr. Bilandzic told us at the beginning of this conversation, is one of the oldest dilemmas of the human race, even though each generation has the idea that it is the first and only one to be faced with this question. In presenting him the current problems of setting up our common life in Yugoslavia as the subject of the conversation, we tell Dr Bilandzic that our interest in this subject derives from a feeling present among the people that the problem of how to live together, how to come to agreement concerning certain daily and strategic questions of development and life on the whole, is becoming greater and greater. And in some places in our society, this also assumes a dramatic tone. How does Dr. Bilandzic, who has already been dealing with the questions that are to be broached in this conversation for more than 10 years, see the current period of negotiating agreements, the programs of functioning of the federation, and how does he explain the difficulties in reaching consensus in a single multinational and multi-republic and province society such as our's is? How is it possible to live together without getting dramatical about it, or is that possible?

## There is No Ideal Effectiveness

Bilandzic said: "In your question, I see the presence of an intensification of worrying by part of the public over the functioning of the federation. In speaking about difficulties, among other things, you probably had in mind the fact that the negotiation of agreements between republics and provinces takes a long time, that it is difficult to get anything done with some questions, and when something is done, there is something missing, which, from the standpoint of only ideal effectiveness, does



not exist anywhere, and creates the impression that the hub of nearly all our problems is in the functioning of a federal political center, under which is understood all forums on the federation level. With this evaluation, I would like to engage in polemics, without minimizing its importance. Although I cannot say that some manifestations do not worry me, I see no reason for considering that things, let us say, are especially complicated or are becoming more acute on the level of social life in our federation. I think that in this area, we are in a much better situation today than we were before. Although this may sound like a stock phrase, I shall try to prove this thesis of mine."

Doctor Dusan Bilandzic is a full professor at the Political Sciences Faculty of Zagreb University, a member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia, and chairman of the Commission for the History of the League of Communists of Croatia attached to the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia. He states that for more than 10 years, he has been dealing with the questions of our society in Yugoslavia, not only as part of his job, and in line with his political functions, but also as a vocation spurred by his emotions.

"In dealing with the postwar historical development of Yugoslavia," states Bilandzic, "I am aware that during that period, there were many difficult times, even in the area of finding ways for society to go. There were many difficult decisions and painful processes, which even though they were of short duration, were fraught with emotions far more than today, as a result of the enactment of various so-called federal decisions. In recent times, the thought has been very widespread among our public that the republics and provinces are shutting themselves off economically, and this is so in order for investment funds to receive territorial prioritization within the republics. However, in studying the method and difficulties of enacting central economic decisions in Yugoslavia (I have in mind, primarily the history of the Federal Investment Fund from 1954 to 1965), and then with a review of the minutes of the Federal Government and the top Yugoslav and republic political bodies, I became convinced that the disputes during the time of existence of the Federal Investment Fund were many times more acute than is the case today. However, the public did not know much about them at that time.

"For example, I remember the most responsible person in the economic field in those days, and his statement--within narrow circles of the most responsible people--that he was no longer able to exercise the function of his position, since the pressures for the distribution of funds from the Federal Investment Fund were wholly unbearable. What I want to say is that in one form or another, some places more and other places less, there always existed a tendency for every republic to build up its own production structure. In the last 5-6 years, this tendency of many years duration, assumed new public forms, to the extent that today, not only public capital, but also goods have become territorialized. What this phenomenon seems to be for me, what I would call the empire-building thesis, is, that these aspirations of the political-economic leaderships of the republics and provinces to create their own economic structure and to fight for specific instruments which are most suited to their needs, do have a basic nationality tinge but in no case are they nationalistic aspirations, for the tendencies toward introversion derive from the nature of something real, and are inherent to the nature of the system of social relations."

Bilandzic explains his thesis in greater detail: he considers that the dominance of the political and the territorial factor over the economic factor is the result of the pressure of the laws of commodity production and the market, and the society,

which comes under pressure from economic laws, takes recourse in state, administrative regulation. At the phase when change occurred in the position and the economic functions of the federation, associated labor did not assume these functions as had been desired and expected, therefore the political factor has had to assume the role of a main economic force, furthermore, and republic, regional, and opstina etatians have come to the fore even stronger, in which case, the federal authority has held on to certain functions in the administrative area, which have complicated economic life even more.

"Of course, it would be simpler to criticize the leadership of a community, a region, or a republic because they are making efforts for solving their own economic problems. But what kinds of social units would these be if they did not concern themselves about their own interests?" says Bilandzic.

#### Loans: The Federation Pays

[Question] Professor, I surmise that the problem lies in the interests of the individual with the interests of society, and the interests of society with the over-all interests of the country. How does one approach this?

[Answer] The procedure of coordinating various interests and the enactment of joint decisions is provided by the Federal Constitution. This process of consensus and agreement among republics and provinces would be easier and more effective, and, all in all, even more efficient under conditions of greater adherence to and practical operation of the laws of commodity production, which is now, and has been for a long time already, unavoidable as a regulative force in the economic life of society.

Another way, another method is administrative distribution, which is in total collision with our concept of self-management. Whenever the swing of the pendulum of our socio-political clock is set by administrative measures, relations become more tense and difficulties become greater.

[Question] Why do the difficulties look so much greater currently, does that mean that again we are in a position of a pendulum, which has been set up according to administrative decisions?

[Answer] Again, we have to revert to the evaluation of earlier phases of our society, and to compare former and current problems. On the basis of analysis of practice and documents, I could easily demonstrate that currently, we are considerably less encumbered by dilemmas of society as we were previously, illogical as it may seem to be. The essence lies in the fact that the problems, dilemmas, and conflicts in past decades often began and ended in cabinets and closed forums, and the public knew nothing about them. These problems manifested themselves in internal struggles for allocations, in redistribution of the centralized national income on the level of Yugoslavia, in the form of the dominance of the federal political center and its enormous power, and in legislation and in practical life, which strongly narrowed the leeway of republics and provinces to manifest themselves as political subjects. There was no way out of this, and if it had continued any longer, there would have been many more repercussions.

Such problems do not exist today. Many people in the world hold Yugoslav federalism as an example, both in terms of standards and practice, of the solution of relations

between nationalities and republics, but people in our country conclude on the basis of some daily phenomena that the old problems of relations between the nationalities are coming to the fore again. In reality, this is the outward form of another phenomenon. I wish to state that the problems of society in our country would turn up even if we were a single-nationality state, for the main origins of conflicts are not in the national but in the economic sphere. Their outward form is repeating itself because of the organization of our state, and is republic-province-national, and its main source is in the undeveloped social-economic relations, which have not been developed in our country as we had expected them to, and we have made the decision for introducing self-management 15 years ago for them.

[Question] It seems, therefore, that you have not explained why right now, at this moment, the problem of reaching consensus is manifesting itself in a form that is worrisome?

[Answer] I would say that there is a relatively simple answer for this: Most certainly, the public at large is unaware that in the last 10 years, we here in Yugoslavia have had an enormous absolutely unexpected additional accumulation from foreign funds, from loans, from the money orders of our people, which made it possible for all of us, from enterprises through regions, and republics to the federal government, to have enormous investments, which were much greater than even during the phase of the so-called initial accumulation. It has so happened that during the last 7-8 years, we have a rate of [capital] accumulation of nearly 40 percent of the national income. This is more than the highest rate of initial accumulation had been after the revolution, when we began the industrialization of the country with the First Five-Year Plan. I will not mention that sum, for it is large, but I want to say that as long as those funds lasted, we were all satisfied, they were being spent, production was growing, the infrastructure was being built, there was money for everything. Currently, the sources have begun to dry up, and it was normal to expect this internalization of those who found themselves short of this capital.

[Question] Nevertheless, Professor Bilandzic, if you don't mind us interrupting you, is not what you mentioned as "what has so happened," that flood of foreign accumulation that you are speaking of, and only the irrational expenditure of this accumulation a further indication that we have been unable to come to mutual consensus on how big a blanket is and how many must we spread out? How do you explain this?

[Answer] This phenomenon of enormous investment outlay and economic development and behavior on the whole during the last 7-8 years would merit close study and analysis. Although it was similar in the past as well, this time, every benchmark has been surpassed. Where do the causes lie? There are many. In finding an answer, it would be worthwhile before anything else to begin with the analysis of the power of the political sphere, which has contributed most to all of this.

Analysis would probably show that at the time of reform of the federation in 1971, when the political power was transferred from the federal government to the republics, this very fact of redistribution of federation power to the republics did not coincide with the destruction of the power of etatism in society as a whole. Associated labor did not attain a dominant position, even in production areas that behave differently than the state. At the same time every mechanism of agreement and control lagged behind. In such a situation, as Comrade Minic stated recently, everybody took as much money from abroad as possible, counting on the fact that the bills would go to

others, especially to the federation. And this is the way it is. And that's the way it's going to be until economic relationships prevail. For, the state simply has no feel for spending money; it does not have an economic approach to problems. If you read the speeches of Comrade Tito, in quite a few places you will find his appraisal that the political structure--and here you will find proofs throughout the world, in both the East and West--does not know the meaning of cost analyses, and that an individual worker spends what he has, and values what he has, and therefore, Tito always favored the transfer of expanded reproduction to workers. How else can one explain such luxurious sports centers, swimming pools, banks, buildings, political forums, monuments, merchandising houses, etc. if not by this spending euphoria of the state?

#### The Time of Nationalism Has Passed

[Question] Please, let us return to the subject. You state that what the public sees as a blockade of consensus today, as a crisis of society, is only an illusion of another type of phenomenon, which is not a crisis of agreement, but a crisis of implementing the concept of dominance of associated labor in decision making. How do you view our immediate future in this direction?

[Answer] I think that in its future development, our society will test out its problems and solutions more critically. It will have to have much greater concern over the humanization of social relations, it will have to turn more and more to social and cultural problems, and above all, to moral standards and social development. For, we are still a backward country, and this is something we often forget. In Europe, we rank among the bottom groups of European countries in many ways today, from material production to living standard. In the field of relations among the nationalities, I think that there is no sensible reason for any republic to consider itself unequal in the federation. In the same way, I think that the times of nationalism in our country are mainly a thing of the past. It seems to me that we are entering a phase of innovations--changes in the system of self-management, where there will have to be a diminution of the exercise of authority not only of the federal top structure, which has already occurred, but of all the other top structures as well. However, in the near future, I do not expect radical movement either to the "left" or "right," rather, our society will make relatively short and measured strides in the main. Any radicalism would be harmful to us, and anyhow, I do not see any forces in the society for any radical turnaround.

[Question] Speaking about our main theme, the dilemmas of society, do you think that they will be more or less of them?

[Answer] I think that in the future, it will be possible to arrive at understandings and agreements, even at a slower pace--which is inherent to democratic procedure--but that they would be both more sound and sensible, and therefore, more respected, and this will be so not only because the arbitration power of the top structure is reduced, but also because there are no alternatives exist. It is totally understandable that we are oversensitive toward relations among republic, province, and nationalities. But here, I think, there are unjustified prejudices: if a cannon thunders in some opstina, we do not hear it too well, but if a mortar bursts from the positions of some republic interest, our entire society wakes up. It is also unusual that we consider that the regional expression of interests does not bring the stability of society into question, rather that this stability is threatened only by some republic or inter-republic moves.



The thing I want to tell you, which also is the answer to your question on the near future, is that I believe that there cannot be any great changes. Powerful interests are dug in under the current status of relationships, and therefore, one should not expect greater changes in the positions of the communities, the republics, or the federation. Especially when the federation is in the middle, I think that all of our experiences have been enmeshed in it as in a "model"--which does not exclude innovation, especially from a processual standpoint. The proper question is: what will take place with the basic social relations? Here too, one must find the proper answer. For the basis of all other relations, including even the relations of the federation with the republics and the provinces, the relations between the republics, the relations between the opstinas and republics, political relationships, and various other relations and processes, depends upon production relationships. As the production relationships are developed, so will all other relationships be developed, both the relations in the federation, and those in the republics, and relations everywhere.

[Question] In conclusion, Comrade Professor, there is still another question that one hears more and more among the public, and I believe that it is also being posed to you by the students. However, I would like Comrade Bilandzic, member of the Central Committee of the LC of Croatia to answer this question. Namely: the conflicts, the spending, the inefficiencies, and everything is the result of the fact that there is insufficient associated labor. Well the way it is, the people from production do not talk about it any more this way than do the politicians from their tribunes. I wish to state: there is some talk that we are not going faster and better because there is no longer any decision making of associated labor. Who is preventing this?

[Answer] There is really this kind of talk, but it appears that whoever uses such talk frequently does not understand, or is concealing his own weakness, or lack of confidence in these words. Too often, things and relations are cloaked in mystification.

The main lever which could start up such a development would be the transfer of expanded reproduction to associated labor. But because the accumulated gains have in general been committed for the given period, there is little hope that this will occur. But there remains another way--a political way. The enactment of central decisions, with which large funds are committed, must be democratized to the greatest extent possible. In our system, we do not have the necessary counterbalances to the monopolistic method of decision making, decisionmaking in narrow groups.

If, for example, our trade unions expressed the workers' wishes more decisively, the rate of accumulation would not have been raised to nearly 40 percent at the expense of a low share of personal incomes in the country's national economy. Currently, it would not help us to go out gunning for some personality or forum, but it would be of great help for us in the future if we would build a system of elections in the system that would assure the selection of the best and most straightforward people to the responsible positions in our society.

RESEARCH-TECHNOLOGY CHIEF DISCUSSES ARMY MODERNIZATION

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 80 p 5

[Interview by Mladen Paver with Colonel-General, Dr, Eng Zlatko Rendulic, chairman of the Armed Forces Council for Research and Development]

[Text] "Even though the interim development plan for the period through 1985 has not yet been adopted, meaning that we do not yet know what the final figures will be in terms of the amount of money the country is going to spend on the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army], there is one thing I could say for certain. Namely, that the percentage of the military budget dedicated to R&D work in the armed forces during the past 5 years will probably go up." So says colonel-general, Dr Zlatko Rendulic.

In saying this the chairman of the Armed Forces Council for Research and Development Work is thinking not only in terms of the present level of our country's overall development, but also in terms of the conditions that will be conducive to the further modernization of the YPA.

"Hardly any of the money that is going to be invested in this kind of work is going to wind up being funneled back into the general economy. Our military research and development work is aimed at bringing about a steady increase in the share of domestically manufactured armaments in the arsenal of the YPA, and this is tending to make us less dependent on imported armaments. But there is a great deal more to it than this."

As far as domestically manufactured arms are concerned, the general takes pride in recalling how, ever since the end of the war and with each passing decade, our army has succeeded in doing an increasingly better job of fending for itself. There have been many occasions on which we have had a chance to realize that the strides that have been made in this area serve to safeguard our national independence and to bolster our ability to resist various kinds of pressures.

Just consider how hard we have had to work and how much we have had to sacrifice in order to be able to produce our own weapons for our infantry troops, our own high-powered antiarmor weapons, battlefield support equipment, jet-powered flight training aircraft, and domestically manufactured torpedo boats!

And ever since then Yugoslavia, in keeping with Tito's notion of nationwide defense, has made many more great strides in this area. From being able to build our own flight-training jets we have progressed to the point where we are able to build our own jet fighters. We are building our own submarines and rocket artillery pieces. There are very few countries at our level of development that can boast of similar results.

General Rendulic reminds us that, "if a country such as Sweden is satisfied with being able to meet 80 percent of its own needs for the production of armaments and military equipment, then you can get a better idea as to how hard it is to come close to matching this level of performance."

"What does all of this mean in terms of future development trends," we asked General Rendulic?

The weaponry of the future will be more and more dependent upon electronics and laser technologies, and this is taking into account state-of-the-art achievements in the realm of metallurgical science. This is why the general wants to stress the kind of research and development work that is geared toward mastering the know-how that is needed for the production of electronic component parts and domestic fabricating materials.

"If, for example, you consider those kinds of domestically manufactured electronic components, even including those for which we have developed our own 'software,' which we are assembling with our own, so to speak, knowhow and our own hands, you will find as much as 30 to 40 percent of the final product is made up of imported component parts. And in the meantime the electronics industry is developing at an extremely rapid pace. Before very long you are going to have washing machines with built-in microprocessors. If we want to keep up with these trends in the army, which is looking for professional-class electronic components for its telecommunications systems (components that are capable of withstanding interference and functioning at subzero temperatures, in addition to meeting various other requirements) and high-quality optical-electronic instruments, radar apparatuses and automatic guidance devices, it then becomes clear where we are going to have to turn to find a solution to these problems. The cheapest way for us to replace imported component parts with domestically manufactured ones is by promoting research and development work."

"Did you have in mind some specific kinds of semifinished goods?"

"Well, you know, the steel plate used in the construction of submarines or the aluminum sheet metal used in the construction of fighter aircraft are measured by separate standards. Military duralumin, in terms of its fracture resistance, almost matches the strength of 'civilian' steel goods. Efforts are constantly being made to reduce the mass (weight) of military duralumin, since this has the immediate result of reducing fuel consumption and increasing the maneuverability of aircraft, naval ships and armored vehicles. Our metallurgical engineers have already scored some major gains aimed at meeting the needs of the armaments industry, but it is obvious that we must go even further by reducing our dependence on imports. We are looking to our research and development workers to provide us with answers to these questions."

Our conversation reverted to the theme of how much of the money that is invested in this research and development work is going to wind up being funneled directly back into the Yugoslav economy.

The general illustrates this problem by citing the experience of what has happened as a result of the devaluation of our currency, something which has had a serious impact on domestic manufacturers whose production programs are based--to some limited extent at least--on imported component parts and semifinished goods. Nor, to be sure, are our defense industries immune to the impact of such developments. Greater self-sufficiency in this area should go a long way toward absorbing much of the shock of similar blows.

On the other hand, we can cite the example of laser technologies. Yugoslav research and production organizations have already mastered the technological processes involved in the production of a laser device that is used in high-precision military rangefinders. This device is being built into tanks which at the virtual limit of their direct firing range--owing to the use of this laser technology--are able to destroy targets with a much higher probability of scoring a direct hit. It is not necessary to explain to soldiers, nor to foreign clients, what this means under modern battlefield conditions.

The enterprise which is manufacturing this kind of "military" laser is working on other possible applications for this device that extend to other, commercial spheres of activity. It is a well-known fact that a laser beam can be aimed with extreme accuracy in order to cut through a piece of steel, and it is an equally matchless tool when it comes to welding the hardest alloys. Thus, a military technology is helping to enhance the competitive position of our metalworking industries in the marketing of their other products.

"The Armed Forces Council for Research and Development Work functions as an advisory organ of the federal secretary for national defense and his colleagues," says general Rendulic in order to explain the duties of the body which he heads up. "In addition to military officers and specialists, the council is made up of representatives of the Federal Executive Council responsible for research and development work at the republic and provincial levels as well as some of our country's leading experts in individual scientific fields. We keep up with the research work that is being carried on in the fields of military science and military economics as well as in the biomedical, social and engineering sciences. By so doing the council is establishing a link between the research work that is being carried on in Yugoslavia generally and in the armed forces. We exchange information about relevant research projects and advise research organizations about the needs of the armed forces. This helps us to avoid having to take a trip, so to speak, down a double-tracked railway, and this is why we are also entering into long-term agreements that enable research teams from our institutes to participate in the work of civilian institutions. The army can fend for itself when it comes to resolving problems in the area of military science, the design of new weapons or, say, the development of anti-typhus vaccines. But there are questions which have a broader significance when it comes to providing for the national defense. Let us consider, for example, water supply or power generating problems. So, we are naturally very much interested in the research work being done in these areas outside the army."



"Are the efforts being made in these areas also tending to make us less and less dependent on foreign licenses?"

"I would not be boasting if I were to tell you that we have already made some noticeable progress in this area too. The number of development projects in progress in the YPA under foreign licensing arrangements is negligible in relation to the total number of our own development projects. These licenses are concentrated exclusively in those areas where it would take too long to come up with our own development plans or where it would be impossible to do so at the present time."

Although the original plan was that this would be just an informal chat, the interview with general Rendulic had wound up moving in a more business-like direction.

He did not tell us very much about his personal career, which was marked by a passionate love affair with the wild blue yonder. Born in Jastrebarsko, he started building model airplanes as a hobby when he was 14 years old. He graduated from a glider pilot school, and in 1940--while studying at the Engineering Faculty in Zagreb--he earned his powered-flight pilot's license and became a military reserve pilot.

In April 1941 the German "Stukas"--manually guided it seems--made it to Kurilovec outside Velika Gorica before the reserve pilots. The "Breguet" and "Potez" planes went up in flames before their very eyes and were left lying in pieces.

Nevertheless, he managed to make his way--via Zumberk and the 13th Proletarian Brigade--to the airbase of the Croatian General Staff in Krbavsko Polje. His wartime career then took him across the Mediterranean to Libya where at the Benin base outside Benghazi the first fighter squadrons were being formed that bore our red star insignia.

"I did not get a chance to fly any combat missions. There were more experienced pilots than me to fly our 'Hurricanes.'" To this day the general is unable to make this confession without a trace of sadness in his voice, the same general who toward the end of the war--after transferring to Cairo, Basra and Teheran--succeeded in graduating from the Air Force Academy of the USSR.

A year later he was already working as a test pilot at our Air Force test flight center. Engineer Rendulic, who was eventually appointed director of the Institute for Aeronautical Engineering, also contributed his share to the development of our first jet aircraft, namely, the "Galeb," "Jasgret" and the "Kraguj" (known as the partisan plane).

He went back to his favorite field--aerodynamics. He earned his master's degree at Michigan University ("Many of America's future Apollo astronauts studied there"), and he received his PhD in 1962 at the Mechanical Engineering Faculty in Belgrade.

Our air force servicemen remember general Rendulic as the head of the Air Force Engineering Administration, back in the days when general Viktor Bubanj was

Commander of the Air Force. Just 2 years ago general Rendulic was still flying jet aircraft.

But there is a much larger circle of people who know him as the author of the book "Vazduhoplovne doktrine" [Principles of Aeronautics], which is a unique compendium of this type here in Yugoslavia. In the final chapter of this work, entitled "Thoughts about the Future," Dr. eng Rendulic employed the scientific method of extrapolation in describing future trends in the development of missile weaponry and combat and transport planes and helicopters in order to reach the following conclusion: "The local wars that were waged after 1945 served to point out the enormous importance of aviation as well as all of the consequences that will befall anyone who does not have access to aviation."

Contributors to our country's military journals have also paid a great deal of attention to his study on the role of the infantry in modern warfare. Access to advanced missile weaponry has all of a sudden given infantry troops a broader range of capabilities to defend themselves against attack by enemy armored and airborne weapons.

And a new work by general Rendulic entitled "Naucno-tehnicki progres i naoruzavanje" [Scientific and Technological Progress and Armaments] is already in press. The author promised to grant us an interview when the book is published.

The telephone rang just as our visit was coming to an end. Our host excused himself and speaking in a respectful voice proceeded to carry on a fairly long conversation. After he had hung up the receiver he could tell from the look in our eyes that we understood that "even a general has to report to another general."

"That was Joza," he said, "my aircraft mechanic back during those first postwar years. You know, it is hard to explain the friendship that exists between a pilot and his mechanic. It is a friendship that lasts forever."

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ASSEMBLY VICE PRESIDENT HADZI VASILEV INTERVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1558, 9 Nov 80  
pp 22-23

[Interview of vice president of the SFRY Assembly Kiro Hadzi Vasilev by Jug  
Grizelj: "How To Conquer Egoism"]

[Text] [Question] Continuing our interviews on relations in the Federation and our relations as a community in general, Kiro Hadzi Vasilev, vice president of the SFRY Assembly, is NIN's guest. In view of the "narrow specialization" of our subject, who for years was concerned with the problems of building up the political system, NIN wished to hear from Kiro Hadzi Vasilev responses to the numerous critical remarks which have been made to the effect that it is possible that there has been considerably more criticism than satisfaction concerning the experience with the federal community since adoption of the constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, which also regulated the relations of our federal community in a comprehensive way.

[Answer] It is understandable that there should be concern on the part of everyone with respect to achievement of community among the nationalities and ethnic minorities and among the republics and provinces in the Federation. However, we should mention that "community spirit" (zajednistvo) is a considerably broader and deeper concept: as a society we have set our sights on a system which signifies emergence from what Marx called the obligatory community in which people's social relations are mainly based on coercion--to a real community in which these relations will be based on free conclusion of accords and compacts among equal principals, from individuals up to the highest communities. The basic premises of this kind of orientation lie in the equality in principle of people's position relative to the means of social reproduction. This is, of course, in principle, historical and legislative equalization does not yet signify establishment of actual equality. It could be anticipated that the transition to such a system would be a very complicated process, full of convulsions and problems. In my opinion, then it is not so strange that there is still a gap between actuality and what has been prescribed. It might be said that the greater wonder is that it is no wider. The essential thing is that this

transition has mainly succeeded and initiated the process of gradual elimination of differences between the actual and what has been prescribed.

[Question] The basic premise for the transition from the "obligatory community" to the "real community" is obviously the right of all participants to freely express their partial interests. Doesn't this also signify an unleashing of innumerable egoisms?

[Answer] Construction of this new type of community based on cooperation (zajednistvo) presupposes on the one hand the freedom of all representatives of partial interests to manifest and express them and to advocate them, but at the same time a sophisticated sense of the interests of others with whom is entering into equal relations. It presupposes, then, that various types of egoisms, from those of individuals to those of republics and provinces, will be overcome to a high degree. The overcoming of this egoism is not a matter for decree, since all man's past history, viewed from this standpoint, is the history of egoistic man and of egoistic groups, communities, and so on. It is natural that there should still be open sources of egoism, above all because of the relatively low level of development of the material forces and material goods. It would be an illusion to expect that even the self-managers at the base are altogether immune to displays of egoistic behavior. The problem is aggravated even more because of the specific effect of the remnants of monopolistic manifestations and forces, since if people are not immune to egoism even as real self-managers, they will be all the more subject to it when greater or lesser remnants of monopolistic relations and the privileged position of individuals or groups with respect to the means of social production are felt in society.

[Question] How, then, to overcome egoism?

[Answer] Egoism is a heavy historical legacy weighing us down, but as a society we have crossed the threshold into relations in which it is being broken down and must be broken down. People are becoming more and more convinced by their own experience that their own interest depends on optimum linkage with the interests of others. Consequently, if one is to gain a proper grasp of his own interest, to state it precisely and to advocate it as an equal, he must give equal consideration to the interests of others, to the honoring of those interests and to meeting people halfway, without imposing his own interests on them.

[Question] Do you mean by this, to put it in concrete terms, that in the conclusion of compacts among the republics and provinces, which is the topic of our conversation, it is necessary that there be as many difficulties and problems as there have been?

[Answer] The difficulties and problems in achieving this cooperative community, I repeat, whether it be a cooperative community of people in a COOP [basic organization of associated labor] or, which is the topic of our



conversation--the cooperative community of republics and provinces in the Federation, arise out of the differences in interests themselves. But the most significant thing about the process of overcoming those differences is controlling manifestations of monopolism and egoism. Fuller achievement of the cooperative community, then, presupposes achievement of authentic development of self-management relations at the very base, above all in associated labor.

If we are to achieve more equal and successful conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces in the Federation, we must achieve the principle of free and successful conclusion of accords and compacts to an ever greater extent in the self-management base of society.

[Question] If the question arises in a basic organization of associated labor of who is expressing his authentic interest, doesn't that same question also arise when the republics and provinces are to agree within the Federation? During this survey of ours concerning the cooperative community, several participants have expressed concern because of excessively frequent agreements concluded by the administrations and governments of the republics and provinces instead of the delegate base.

[Answer] The conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces should essentially be a process whereby agreement is reached among self-managed communities which are themselves complex and composite. If that process of agreement takes place predominantly or exclusively within the confines of certain authorized republic bodies and agencies, especially when it is confined to executive bodies and administrative agencies, then this by definition is not agreement among the republics and provinces as we have defined it, just as in the basic organization of associated labor we cannot speak of a self-management accord if an agreement is concluded exclusively by the professional management components and representatives of certain bodies and organizations, say the trade union or the workers' council. It is the first premise of the authentic process of reaching agreement that the republics and provinces would correctly reveal and formulate their authentic interests with respect to whatever specific problem is involved.

[Question] Can it be said that certain conflicts and certain blockades also occur because the interests of the republics or provinces have been expressed in a way that was not authentic?

[Answer] It can. We can even assume that this will often happen when the interests of the republic or province has not been revealed, understood and stated on an authentic self-management basis, that is, if the political position on this matter has not been articulated in a manner that conforms to authentic self-management. I would say that the second essential prerequisite for fuller achievement of the cooperative community is a sophisticated sense of the interests of the other republics and provinces and appealing for their positions, precisely because one cannot otherwise get a good grasp of his own interest.

[Question] One of the participants in our survey spoke about entrenchment as a pronounced problem in the conclusion of agreements.

[Answer] This has indeed been one of the marked shortcomings in the processes of agreement among the republics and provinces so far. Positions and commitments stated at the outset have been held to excessively long, and the mutual influence of positions has been too little felt, and rarely has it happened that delegates have frankly, objectively and comprehensively familiarized their own constituencies with the views of others, with all their convincing arguments, so that both sides of the coin could then be seen. Of course, this again could be seen as a certain lack of willingness to treat the interests of others in the same manner as one's own interest. But the essential thing about our system is that today it is very difficult for tendencies based on attempts through various forms of pressure--in agreements among the republics and provinces--to impose a solution apparently favorable to oneself, but at the expense of others, to make their way. That is usually why we have a standstill today in the process of decisionmaking and the blockades you have referred to. But we do not have cases in which solutions have been forced on others. The tendencies to impose solutions are sooner or later arousing general resistance, and this is the guarantee that an awareness of the necessity to honor the essential prerequisites of authentic and equal agreement will be steadily increasing and that in practice there will be greater willingness for us to behave accordingly.

[Question] There have been many assessments of late to the effect that monopolistic interests and forces at all levels in society have frustrated the compacts and accords. How can this situation be overcome in conclusion of agreements among the republics and provinces at the level of the Federation?

[Answer] If an authentic process of consensus is to authentically take place, above all in the SFRY Assembly, in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, we must guarantee that the positions in the assemblies of the republics and provinces, which send their delegations to the Federation, are truly founded on authentic principles of delegation, which means that they arise out of the very base of associated labor.

[Question] One of the most delicate questions of our cooperative community is the relation among the advanced and the underdeveloped. Could this be another reason for blockades in conclusion of agreements?

[Answer] Certainly: one of the very serious sources of difficulties does lie in the objective material problems of our entire community, which is still at a relatively low level of development of the material forces, and particularly in the great disproportions, especially in the level of development of the republics and provinces. Thus the problems of the underdeveloped in general and especially of the underdeveloped republics and provinces, are a burden and do make it more difficult to reconcile positions.

It seems to me that on this problem we need to achieve full unity in both conception and policy concerning certain initial premises, and what I mean is this: first, the essential thing is not just the absolute level of development of the various republics and provinces, but above all relative relations, the actual differences. If those differences are greater, the problem will not be corrected. Even at a considerably higher overall material level of our society.

Why? Because differences of that kind in the context of a market economy signify an inevitable siphoning off of the surplus value of labor from the underdeveloped to the advanced. Moreover, these differences are essentially reflected in the intimate nature of society, in social consciousness itself, and thereby in the real feeling of community. It is understandable that the smaller the differences in level of development, the firmer the foundations of the cooperative community will certainly be. Or, conversely, the greater those differences, the more problems there will be for achievement of the cooperative community. Which is precisely why overcoming these differences lies in the objective interest of all, as well as of the whole. The question of whether we have always found the best and most effective specific solutions is another matter. We must all be prepared for a frank discussion and reassessment of that issue, since better, more optimal and more effective solutions can always be found.

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